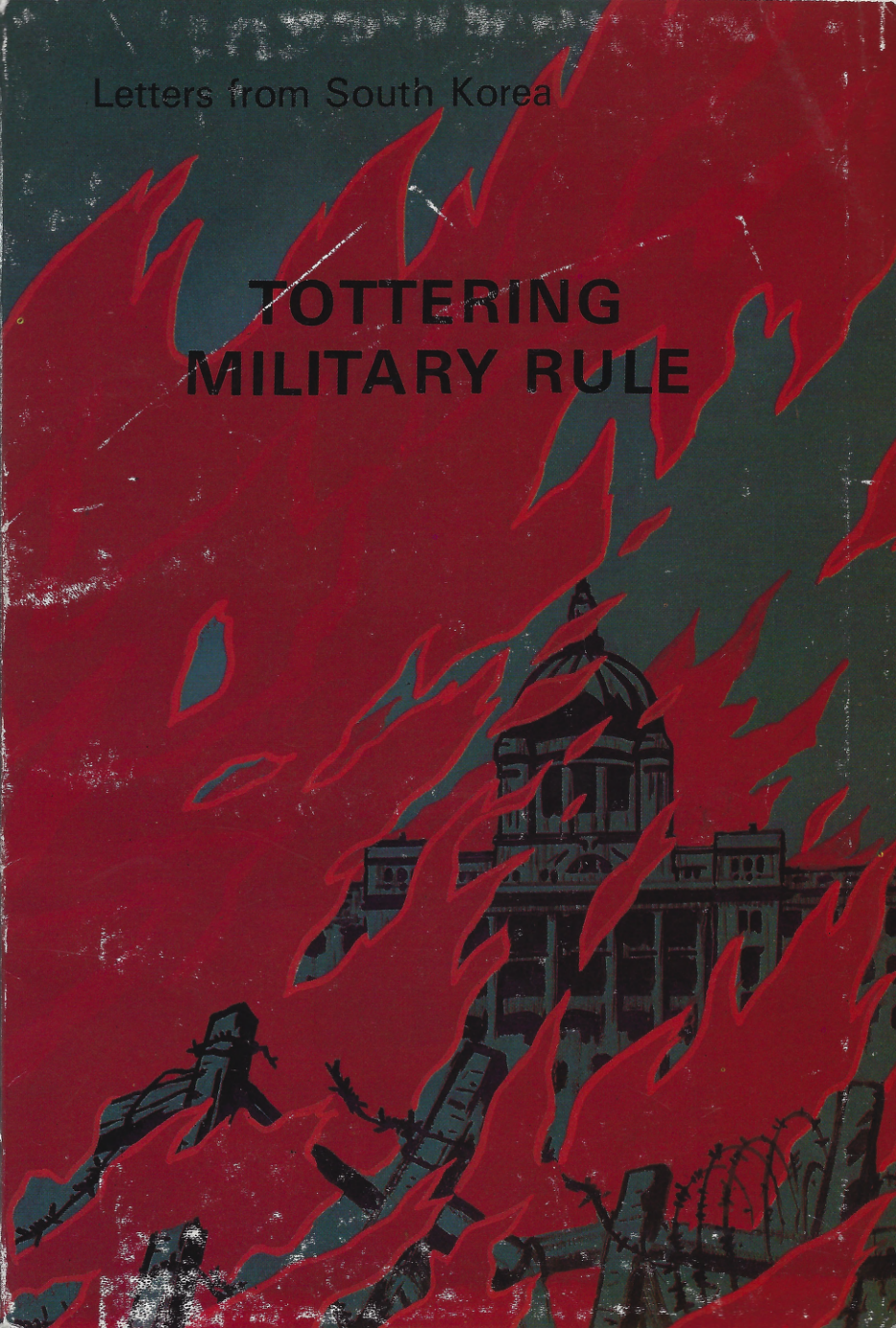


Letters from South Korea

TOTTERING MILITARY RULE



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1986

EDITOR'S NOTE

This book contains part of the "Letters from South Korea" published in the Japanese magazine "Sekai" from September 1984 to August 1985.

It accuses Chon Du Hwan, the duplex lackey of US and Japanese imperialisms and the boss of homicidal and torture-propped government in south Korea, and his underlings of the heinous outrages they perpetrate in overriding freedom, democracy and civil rights and suppressing, imprisoning and murdering innocent people at random in order to maintain their power, and gives a graphic picture of the anti-US, anti-puppet struggle of the workers, youth and students, religious people and other sections of the people in south Korea for democracy, reunification and popular movement.

The present book will give the reader a vivid idea of the realities in south Korea under US occupation.

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STAGE-MANAGED HISTORY

July 15, 1984

"THE DECLARATION OF THE POPULAR MOVEMENT FOR DEMOCRACY"

South Korea has nearly one million army men and 150,000 police. This means one man out of 30 is involved in the use of violence. In addition, there are over 40,000 American troops. In this chaotic situation the terrorist regime of the Chon Du Hwan gang was born.

There are people who speak out that neither democracy nor respect for human rights can be expected in such a place.

On the other hand, some people even say that the university professors are paid better or that the salaries of journalists are pretty high. In addition to their high salaries, the latter are exempted from income tax or taxed at a reduced rate and can even get loans at low interest from the press funds, it is said. They are also said to enjoy considerable privileges such as granting of subsidy for the purchase of a house, preferential installation of a telephone, special favour in medical care, overseas service for those who have worked faithfully for five or more years, and the all-expenses-paid scholarship for the education of their children. They get bonuses ranging between 800 to 1,000 per cent of their pay. The government controls TV and radio broadcasting and collects fees from their audience and advertising charges, which brought it a revenue of 140 billion *won* last year, of which 28 billion *won* was transferred to the welfare funds for journalists to benefit 3,000 persons all over south Korea. This means some nine million *won* for each a year. Like this the "measures for preferential treatment" of those who serve with the mass media are amazing. The intellectuals have been tamed with such honey-sweet ruses, punishment and suppression, and the press becomes government-patronized.

Such an establishment is backed up by the violence of the military, and by the present governments of the United States and

Japan. So how can we hope for the improvement of the state of affairs? Even if elections to the National Assembly are held between this fall and next spring under such circumstances, it would be foolish to pin any hope on them.

In the meantime, the fighting people on their part endeavour to find out the possibility of struggle and explore a definite sphere of movement. When the hour of election comes, the clashes between the government and the populace will be unavoidable since the elections are controlled by the powers that be. The police will be unable to pay heed to other affairs because it will be occupied with the elections. In time of elections, even such opposition parties as we see today will have no alternative but to attack the government. The newspapers will have to report about this to a certain extent. Frictions are probable within the ruling party over the matter of nomination. They think they must make the most of such conditions to launch a vigorous struggle.

Further, the economic depression will also continue. After the war the south Korean economy changed over from an aid-propped economy to a credit-financed economy, and her export-first principle brought about fabulous foreign liabilities. Even the government announced that as of May this year its foreign debts reached 41.4 billion dollars. This averages 1,000 dollars of debt per capita. In 1982 they paid back 5.9 billion dollars of principal and interest of foreign liabilities, which was equivalent to 95 per cent of the total foreign loans introduced that year. Thus the introduction of foreign loans was indispensable for the repayment of the principal and interest of the foreign debts.

Concentration of capital in the Big Business is accelerated with each passing day. The gross sales of the thirty big concerns backed by the authorities amount to 76 per cent of the gross national product. These concerns hold 43 per cent of the sum total of the bank loans. The privileged circles that account for only 0.3 per cent of the population such as high-ranking military-politicians, bureaucrats and big businessmen are in possession of 43 per cent of the state property. To maintain this regime, the terrorist rule is built up and its dependence on the United States and Japan increases. Coupled with this, the military outlay which takes up 30 per cent of the state budget stifles the economy.

This aggravates the hardships of the peasants and workers. The peasantry numbering 9,470,000 are saddled with a debt from 1.3

million to 2.7 million *won* per household. There is a nonagricultural population of over 9 million, and 59 per cent of the urban workers earn less than 100,000 *won* a month. In 1982 the workweek was 58 hours, which meant an average of 9.3 hours per day with the exception of Sundays. Because of suppression, the labour union membership dwindled from 1.2 million in 1979 to 840,000 in 1982.

The present state of affairs in south Korea can hardly be saved by the policy of the Chon Du Hwan clique or by the backing of the United States and Japan. Therefore, it is essential to take advantage of this brief respite by all means. The forces standing for democratization which have grown through a hard struggle must certainly pull through this new situation. It is necessary above all to expand the forces by strengthening organization, propaganda and unity. In this sense, too, the Council of the Popular Movement for Democracy formed on June 29 is of great significance. It embraces 15 organizations which have been fighting for democracy until now such as the Youth League for Democratization Movement, the Korean Workers' Welfare Council and the Korean Catholic Farmers' Association. In short, it is a united front of the Christian and non-Christian organizations.

In the spring of this year the Youth League for Democratization Movement and the Korean Workers' Welfare Council started lawful activities, emerging from the dispersed underground movement. For instance, the Youth League, an organization of young people tempered in prison life, has come to publish an organ "The Road to Democracy". Its inaugural issue carried a poem of encouragement by Sin Gyong Rim captioned "O We've All Gathered Here". Here are the first two and last stanzas from this six-stanza poem:

*Pushing through flames and swimming across a sea of fire,
Wading through thorny fields and heaps of stones and
coming over rocky mountains,*

*We've all gathered here,
Our song rising to a higher pitch,
Reverberating through the country.*

*With ugly marks of the enemy's teeth on the back,
Foreheads and palms still wet with blood,
We've all gathered here,
To fly the flag high in the air,*

Which we'll fight defending to the last.

*Tear the chains off our hands and feet!
Never we'll succumb to coaxing whispers and affected
smiles.*

*Let us press forward courageously,
Taking the 50-million nation in our embrace;
Let's go ahead shoulder to shoulder, beating the drum
loudly.*

The people cannot be silenced by violence. They think that the flames of struggle will rise higher in case people are jailed or killed.

Therefore the authorities deem it unnecessary to imprison ones, only to make them heroes. But if they are left alone, they will raise their voices still louder, which will spread farther and more widely. This is why the authorities try to isolate and bind them hand and foot, or to crush them by violence even for a short time, while gagging the mass media to minimize their influence.

The second issue of "The Road to Democracy" is a special number commemorating the April 19 Uprising. It called for a better "active understanding and practice" against the "deceptive compromise policy". Let me quote a few opening and concluding lines from the poem "This Day" by Kim Jong Hwan carried in the second issue of the magazine:

...
*I'm alive, so that I see again such a day
When long columns of demonstrators move ahead,
Emerging from darkness into the bright sunshine.
I find myself among the demonstrators,
Flooded full with the light of liberty.
The riot police shooting pepper gas
Hem and close in, thrusting us back.
Though they push and push us back, never will we be
pushed out.
Though we're trampled on, our voices ring out louder.
Though we fall down on the concrete pavement, bleeding,
O my divided motherland!
Your sky is high and azure,*

And our procession to liberty is long and never-ending.

*O we feel like shouting,
Shouting endlessly for justice
In voices never to die down.
We'd like to shout for reunification, our hope,
With our chests stuck out, under the bright sun.
Liberty, justice, and truth!
We'll move forward, dancing and dancing in tears.*

The "Declaration of the Popular Movement for Democracy" of the recently formed Council of the Popular Movement for Democracy put forward six fighting targets, which are quoted here:

1. We will strive to do away with the monopoly economy system which benefits a handful of the privileged and to build an independent national economy capable of providing the masses with a life worthy of human beings.

2. We, deploring the actual social conditions of today plagued by distrust, hatred, crimes and degraded trends, will strive to locate their political and social causes and take countermeasures, and to create a social atmosphere where a decent life is guaranteed and trust and love prevail among the people.

3. We, deeply concerned about the pollution detrimental to human lives, to say nothing of the natural environment, will strive in every way to do away with it.

4. We, being aware that the political awakening of the masses is indispensable for removing the high-handed terrorist regime which deceives and oppresses the people, will strive to awaken them.

5. We, fully aware that the root cause of all the sufferings of the masses in this land lies in the division of the nation, will strive to accomplish national reunification independently and peacefully.

6. We, closely following the international developments around the Korean peninsula, will strive to see peace come to stay in this peninsula.

This declaration is a truly excellent document which soberly analysed the current situation of south Korea to indicate the right orientation of action. It also points out that "Efforts should be made to wipe out privileged culture, slave culture, decadent culture,

colonial culture and cold-war culture and to create healthy national culture and mass culture," that "Even if reunification is not attained right now, talk about it is not senseless. It will serve as a key factor expediting national reunification to confirm its legitimacy and restore and foster national homogeneity through varied discussions about reunification," and that "We will actively promote the anti-nuclear, anti-war, peace movement." The declaration also extended thanks to "the overseas Koreans for their movements for the democratization and peaceful reunification of the motherland," and expressed a hope for their greater efforts in the future. Its concluding part is quoted here:

"We will also cooperate with the peace-loving, democratic citizens throughout the world who are striving for the common prosperity of mankind and world peace. Especially we voice our strong solidarity with the masses of the third world who are courageously fighting for democracy, national liberation and universal human ideal in a situation like ours and hope for giving support and encouragement to each other from warm comradeship.

"We will certainly build a democratic society where freedom and peace which we earnestly desire are guaranteed, by giving full play to our strength, wisdom, courage and energy based on the great creative power of the masses."

The declaration gives an idea how the youth have grown in the process of the struggle for democracy over the past ten-odd years. It calls for observing the north and the south of the Korean peninsula with keen eyes, giving thought to the peace of the world and Asia, and placing hopes on the moves of the conscientious forces of the world and, in particular, on the movement of the third world while keeping contacts with all nations of the world. Along with this, it appeals to remould the immoral world of today and build a more humanized society. Through these afflictions a global vision will be fostered and a thought to transform the world will take shape. They have come to realize that a genuine reform in south Korea is unthinkable apart from the transformation of the world.

In view of the actual situation in which great powers blind with "national selfishness" are "engrossed in the sale of arms," and "the third world countries which have been reduced to the status of arms markets are involved in proxy wars or contract wars," they stress the necessity of "creating a new theory and idea."

New wine is brewing. It requires a new vessel. The old order is destined to crumble.

THREE SCANDALS

Surely a honeymoon of the ins and outs continues under the rule of the Chon Du Hwan clique. On July 10, 1984 an "emergency resource control bill" which is a national mobilization law was rushed through the National Assembly.

The opposition parties including the Democratic Korea Party put forward only a minor amendment, but voted for the bill designed to sacrifice the human rights of the people and their property right for the men in power. The newspapers almost neglected it as though it had been a bill of no consequence. There must have been black-market dealings in the upper crust. Even before the passage of this bill, the people had thought with resignation that it could not be helped because power was almighty. At heart they wanted the overthrow of the government rather than amendments of laws.

Illegal violences go on as ever. The couple who had been assaulted by the police after attending a meeting held in memory of the Kwangju tragedy in Seoul on May 19, complained to the authorities. The police outrage had caused the wife to abort. The chief of the Tongdaemun police station and its intelligence section head dodged their responsibility. So the injured brought the charge to the prosecutor's office. But they have not yet received an answer, it is said.

The taxi drivers' case which took place in Taegu on May 25 is still left unsettled. The church in Taegu is fighting for the release of the nine arrested drivers. They were apprehended for no reason. It is reported that they broke down under torture and "owned to their participation in outrages." However, they now deny the fact and call for the clearing up of the truth. The North Kyongsang Provincial Association of Presbyterian Church and the Taegu Human Rights Committee of the Korean Church Council published "Our Assertion" on June 16. In the nine points enumerated in it, the church side demands that the taximen's union should not be seduced to become a tool of the government and that the deplorable working conditions should be eliminated. Further, it urges the authorities to make the truth of the case known to the public and to release the nine drivers. It warns that the present regime which resorts entirely to repression will only give rise to the second and third Taegu incidents.

In connection with the Taegu incident, there is one more thing to mention. Unable to stand the harsh exploitation, the taximen had attempted to put up a struggle. Their employers are discharged army officers or retired policemen.

The authorities noisily advertise that dismissed professors and journalists are rehabilitated. But no measure is taken for the sacked workers. The blacklist which bars their reinstatement is still in force although the authorities promised many times to scrap it. This is because the labour movement and labour disputes are regarded as the greatest threat to the rule by the Chon Du Hwan clique.

On June 3 an incident occurred at Seoul Church No.1 where many people were injured due to the outrages of the police who attacked the congregation at the end of a gathering there. A worker is suffering from the aftereffect of the injury even after one month in hospital. But the authorities remain indifferent to it. Although they mouth "politics without violence," this is nothing but an impudent chicanery designed to cover up the present state of affairs.

So, a prayer meeting is held in Yongdungpo "to do away with police violence," and the greater part of the participants are workers. Who knows if the meeting will be turned into another scene of violence? The champions of democratization who are going to launch a resolute struggle for the freedom of labour movement against the violence of the authorities will never give in.

On behalf of all the attendants of the national conference on the question of human rights in 1984, the Human Rights Committee of the Korean Council of Christian Church issued on June 27 "The Declaration of Human Rights for 1984". Pointing out that today the world is dominated by brute force, the declaration analyses the situation of the contemporary world. It says, "The power structure of the world places the small and weak nations totally under the control of brute force; the structural force of political power subdues the political opponents by violence; and the economic-industrial structure tramples on the human rights of workers and peasants by force." The media of communication have been brought round to speak for the government so as to justify the use of violence by the authorities. This is a consequence of the current state of affairs. Now the workers fired for declaring their resolve to struggle against violence are demanding their return to jobs. It is worthy of note that the declaration points out that the church should launch "a movement for education in peace" and declares that "the church should take

national reunification as its urgent task because it is the way to ultimate solution to clear away evils and bringing about peace in this land." Amidst tribulations the desire for peace and national reunification will mount; tribulations give rise to a new thought. It should be said that the Korean Christianity has begun to think that it is impossible to break the present deadlock unless anticommunism is discarded.

At least 83 political prisoners should not be forgotten. They may be left in oblivion because the authorities are resorting to a reconciliatory policy. The mother of Li Tae Bok, a worker kept alone in Chonju prison for his involvement in the so-called case of the National Federation of Democratic Workers, still now continues to petition for mercy. The health of the man in prison and his parents is deteriorating, it is reported. The 17 persons jailed on charges of the so-called case of the south Korean National Liberation Front are suffering from serious illness. But the authorities have no intention to release them on bail. Unless some great pressure is applied, no "leniency" is granted on such powerless people although the authorities talk about an appeasement policy.

Removal of slums and street stalls and other kinds of outrages by the authorities continue. On June 13 more than 90 stall keepers clashed with the evacuation squad on the approach to the cattle market in Majang-dong, Songdong District, Seoul. Many were wounded and 12 stallmen were walked off to the police station. Incidents like this are not given coverage by the press.

Under violent power, there can hardly be the application of law, justice or reason. It was in this atmosphere that Chong Rae Hyok, a representative member of the ruling Democratic Justice Party, was dismissed suddenly in the afternoon of June 25. This ex-Defence Minister had been formally called the second person in the Chon Du Hwan regime. The reason for his sacking is reportedly that he had amassed a fabulous amount of wealth by illicit means. His accuser was Mun Hyong Tae of army origin who had repeatedly informed against him anonymously. An opponent from the same province, he was once a general and held the post of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The two men were due to compete against each other in the same constituency in the forthcoming election. It appears this was why Mun divulged the illicit acts of Chong Rae Hyok.

In this situation Chong Rae Hyok issued a statement that he would give up his property equivalent to 18 billion *won* in the

interests of society. What this means is not clear. He has enormous sums of cash deposits. Who knows he wanted to save them at least? Mun Hyong Tae was arrested later. This man's property is worth more than 10 billion *won*, they say. Patronized by Pak Jung Hi, both of them had got hold of power and money. Strangely enough, they had served in the Japanese army. Mun Hyong Tae as a volunteer was a noncommissioned officer of the Japanese army, and Chong Rae Hyok was a cadet of the Japanese military academy at the time of liberation in 1945. So, here is another instance of corruption afforded by former pro-Japanese elements. The contemporary young historians write that the pro-Japanese elements survived on the pretext of opposing communism after liberation, and only indulged in corrupt practices. This is confirmed by the aforesaid instance, too.

The two men are not the exception. And most of the generals who have access to power differ little from them. They are banditti, I should say, and so get frightened when incidents like this occur. All ordinary people are angered at it.

Power is collapsing due to such internal disruption. It must be said that the conscientious voices of the fighting people not only topple the mighty power but hasten its inner disintegration. The ruling party tried to ignore and strangle the anonymous letters, but failed, because the contents of the anonymous letters sent to newspaper offices leaked out and became the topic of a general conversation. In a time as this, the newspaper offices could do nothing but shelve the anonymous letters. But when Chong Rae Hyok was dismissed from the posts of representative member and assemblyman the newspaper offices reported the contents of the letters. Thus, the lawfulness and prestige of the power of Chon Du Hwan and company were again scandalized.

And now the scandal of Li Jong Sik, representative of the Taeji technical corporation, came into question. He was the vice-chairman of the Advisory Committee for Peaceful Reunification. He purchased 100,000 *pyong* of land in Nam-Cheju of Cheju Island and applied pressure in every way to ensure the realization of its development plan. The set of people or forces that swarm in to back up the illicit power are evil forces whether they come from within the country or from abroad. With the backing of state power they do their best to pursue their own interests. The relations between the United States, Japan and the Chon Du Hwan clique must also be interpreted in this context.

There were many scandals in connection with the development of Cheju Island. More than a tenth of its land fell into the hands of those living outside the island, we are told. It appears that Japanese enterprises have a hand in it as real masters of vast land. Big Businesses have often swindled peasants out of land. For this reason hundreds of students from Cheju Island staged a sit-in in front of the building of the Colon Group last April. In such cases, the government authorities of the Chon Du Hwan clique never try to fairly deal with the issue on the side of the peasants. So, even the newspapers write that the authorities should stop putting up high-sounding slogans such as "Let us materialize justice," but should rather say, "Let us do away with absurdities". Moreover, Li Jong Sik is a kinsman of Li Sun Ja, wife of Chon Du Hwan, and comes from the same town as she. This topic is tabooed. So here is yet another "scandal of the First Lady in the land".

In the meantime, Minister Pak Jo Jun of the Yongnak Church, the biggest Korean Presbyterian church, was arrested with his wife for secretly carrying some 40,000 US dollars with him when he had visited America. He had had 150,000 dollars of bank deposits in the United States, and this was why newspapers wrote, "He attempted to smuggle 200,000 US dollars out of the country." This gave a great shock to the Korean Christian world. The Yongnak Church is a representative one with a total enrollment of 80,000 believers. This incident is ascribable to the excessive expansion of the Church. The Korean Church has been commercialized and the clergymen benefit by it, while the believers offer too much material support to them. At any rate, the Church, too, has been contaminated with the rotten atmosphere of south Korea.... Thus, the denouncing voices rose.

Newspapers, the "Chungang Ilbo" in particular, launched an attack on the Church and wrote up mercilessly every day. The paper said that tax should be imposed on the incomes of the clergy and that Minister Pak Jo Jun admitted everything in his answers to questions at a press interview. And it argued that the same applied to all churches.

Immediately afterwards, the Human Rights Committee of the Korean Council of Christian Church and the Presbyterian Church issued statements in protest, calling in question: What is the purpose of denouncing the minister as offender even before finding out the facts and writing that he had admitted his misdeed at a press interview when no press interview had been held? Minister Pak Jo

Jun underwent an operation for cutting off the duodenum and two-thirds of the stomach in New York in October last year, because his disease was too serious to go through an operation at home. So he was sent abroad for recuperation at the church expense. Nevertheless, the newspaper clamoured that he sold off his house and attempted to run away to a foreign country. As for the money he deposited abroad, it was the honorariums he had received in reward for his guidance of gatherings three or four times in the United States every year. How is it that a patient like him has been imprisoned with his wife? They must be released. Such is the argument of the Church.

This protest was raised because there were indications that seizing this opportunity, the government was stepping up propaganda through various devices in order to suppress the daily growing force of the Protestant Church. This gave rise to a wave of indignation against the Chon Du Hwan clique even among the conservative church leaders.

On the other hand, the Church challenged: Why do the authorities make such a great fuss about a little honest money while covering up the big scandals of the political bosses and settling them even without any inquiry and investigation? Into the bargain, is it not that the "Chungang Ilbo" is the mouthpiece of the Samsung financial group which has so far caused so much sensations by countless irregularities? Is it the intention of the authorities to launch an anti-church campaign by using such a paper?

The Church has thus begun to assume the posture of boycotting the goods of the Samsung group and the "Chungang Ilbo".

It may be said that any of these three scandals symbolizes the present conditions of south Korea. State power is used to amass a fortune and the peasants are dispossessed of their land in the name of development. This foul atmosphere involved even the Church in moneymaking. Everywhere the masses are ignored. This is why the champions of democratization and the Christians in particular call for a reform of the Church for a new possibility while attacking the authorities and the Big Business which is hand in glove with them. Such a struggle alone can make the Church worthy of its name. It should be said that a serious problem lurks in the triad of the swollen power, the rich and the Church.

In any case, there is no denying that these three scandals evoke an irrepressible indignation among the poor.

ROBBED LIBERATION

August 16, 1984

EVE OF CHON DU HWAN'S TRIP TO JAPAN

I want to relate the remarks made by a pilot of the Korean Air Lines in regard to the incident of a south Korean airliner shot down on September 1, 1983. He said:

"The planes of the Korean Air Lines have no taillight to tell them from others. Nobody knows why. I don't know whether it is necessary for some military purpose or for use in some sort of operations as occasion calls. The pilots are always placed under the surveillance of security officers. When staying in a foreign country they cannot make even a phone call freely. In the yearly renewal of their passport, their record and family background are closely checked up. Sometimes they are forced to make a written vow. This vow includes clauses binding them first of all to keep away from a coup d'état and from an attempt to overthrow the government. What stuff and nonsense! What is the use of such a vow? When one of its planes was forced to land in Murmansk in 1978, too, there were many strange things. There was a bickering between the pilot and assistant pilot as to why their plane had to fly so far off the established route. The American side knew the ins and outs of the matter. This time, too, a similar thing can have happened. Rather, it seems that this time they acted more carefully. Chon Byong In, the plane captain, was the elder brother of the head of the security section in the Blue House.

"The plane was crowded with such people and intelligence agents. It appears to me that everything had been contrived deliberately. Because it is totally unthinkable to me as a pilot like them."

How then did the United States leave the south Korean plane with such an important task as would risk the lives of so many people? Their bid for world domination is swayed by the idea of racial discrimination. No one can call them to account for such a crime

committed by a state. Even the bereaved families are perplexed where to turn to demand an exhaustive investigation of the case. And the whole world is misled into the vortex of anti-Soviet campaign. Has the conscience of humanity no alternative but to keep silent at the cruelty of world history like this? Under the overbearing sway of a great power as in this case, there can be no flowering of genuine democracy at any place. In a world like this the rule of the Chon Du Hwan clique is probably the inevitable fate of south Korea. And it may be along this line that Chon Du Hwan's visit to Japan will be realized soon.

In this situation all criticism of Japan is prohibited on the eve of his Japanese visit. The criticism of misrepresented Japanese school textbooks is also suspended. In anticipation of the anniversary of the August 15 liberation this year, TV programmes and special editions of newspapers recalling the days of Japanese imperialist rule were prepared, but all of them have been shelved by government orders. The symposium on a ferry boat on the Korean Straits where Japanese film director Oshima made an insulting remark which evoked public criticism has been televised with the deletion of the scene in question. Newspapers, too, made no comment on it.

But a suppressed atmosphere like this is dangerous. In Korea anti-Japanese speeches should not and cannot be banned by the force of government. If such speeches are stifled at present, it is feared that there might be an explosion after Chon Du Hwan's return from Japan. The "south Korea-Japan friendship" farce staged now over the TV and other media may rather bring about great reaction. Should Chon's Japanese visit prove fruitless and rather humiliating, the danger will be still greater. Then, in order to dodge the people's criticism and maintain his power, he may possibly try to use their voices of reproof—in his own interests. He can resort to the ruse of putting all the blame on Japan to get unscathed out of the dilemma. The regime of the Chon Du Hwan clique will totter under the impact of the powerful challenge of the people between this autumn and the next spring.

In the circumstances of a ban on anti-Japanese utterances, young people and Christians speak out strongly and without fear. Their voices are not reported at all by the domestic communication media.

On July 23, an "emergency statement of Christian youths and students on hearing the report about Chon Du Hwan's plan for

visiting Japan—we categorically oppose anti-national diplomacy towards Japan” was published in the joint names of the General Federation of Christian Students in south Korea, the Young Men’s Christian Association in south Korea, the Korean National Federation of Jesuitic-Presbyterian-Youth Associations, the Korean National Federation of Christian-Presbyterian-Youth Associations, the National Federation of Youth Associations of Korean Christian Methodist Churches, the National Federation of Youth Association of Korean Salvation Army Headquarters, the National Federation of Youth Association of Korean Episcopal Church, and the National Federation of Youth Association of Korean Evangelical Church.

Pointing out, first of all, that in view of the attitude assumed so far by Japan, the fair-sounding words “Opening of a new epoch in the south Korea-Japan relations” and “General readjustment of postwar relations between south Korea and Japan” are all deceptive, it says that “therefore, we resolutely oppose Chon Du Hwan’s forthcoming visit to Japan and, in particular, his meeting with the war criminal Hirohito.” It also points out that in the 20 years since the “normalization of diplomatic relations between south Korea and Japan,” Japan has in fact accelerated economic aggression and is now militarized to present a military threat. So, Chon Du Hwan’s Japan trip can be regarded as a step to strengthen the so-called “south Korea-US-Japan triangular security cooperation system”. It further points out, “It will be right to say that entry of south Korea into this system is fraught with the danger of bringing ruin to our nation, irrespective of its will, in the vortex of great powers’ strife for hegemony.” Then it criticizes the Chon Du Hwan band’s attitude towards Japan:

“The present regime has been indifferent to such a vital question, but occupied itself only with the pursuit of political interests. In the course of and after seizing power its corruption and inefficiency were disclosed more than once, so that it has forfeited support from the popular masses of south Korea. Therefore, to secure the backing of outside forces such as the US and Japan, it has continued to follow policies detrimental to the nation. In particular, at a time when we should sharpen vigilance against Japan more than ever, the ruling Democratic Justice Party made a ‘National Assemblyman’ address such a preposterous question as ‘Haven’t you got an intention to invite the Japanese Emperor?’ On the other hand, TV broadcast continued to report about Japan and televised a

number of press interviews with Japanese, thus encouraging the Japanese way of life to prevail in every family. In addition, by stressing the advent of a honeymoon in south Korea-Japan diplomacy, the present regime has stealthily carried out the policy of softening up our legitimate vigilance against Japan. Through the recently announced Chon Du Hwan's visit to Japan, the authorities will try to make public and give full scope to the treacherous anti-national diplomatic trip to Japan which has been prepared through such processes. If this is not checked, the Japanese side will start a mass-cultural offensive and, at the same time, openly intensify the relations of political and military domination and submission under the signboards of friendship, amity and cooperation between south Korea and Japan on the occasion of the so-called '20th anniversary of normalization of diplomatic relations between south Korea and Japan' next year."

Young people, therefore, asked Chon Du Hwan to give up his plan of visiting Japan, and warned the Japanese side not to repeat their past crimes in conspiracy with the Chon Du Hwan regime which has no support from the grassroots. "This was not because they wanted to remain indefinitely at loggerheads with Japan, the closest neighbour," but because they desired "genuine peace" and "genuinely popular relations of friendship," the statement concluded.

Somehow, the relations between south Korea and Japan are now promoted through intrigues and manoeuvres without the knowledge of the people as in the early 20th century. To this end, even numerous men of culture and artists are mobilized. Japan's consumptive and decadent civilization will be powerless to weaken and blunt the spirit of the south Korean youths.

Powerful culture, ideology and art of the masses are already coming into being.

On August 2, the Korean Council of Conscientious Offenders' Families made a statement that "We oppose Chon Du Hwan's visit to Japan which will provide a new momentum for Japan to invade the Korean peninsula." This statement, too, has flawless contents. Regretting that I cannot introduce its full text here, I would like to quote a few of paragraphs:

"Simultaneously with the official announcement of the plan of Chon Du Hwan's visit to Japan, the authorities mobilized the government-patronized media to trumpet about the 'beginning of a

new epoch in south Korea-Japan relations' and the 'strengthening of relations of friendship and cooperation between south Korea and Japan' in order to soothe the anti-Japanese sentiments of the people and create an atmosphere for enabling Japan to launch economic, cultural and military invasion. However, our historical experience proves that this is no more than a political swindling ignoring the past and present realities of the south Korea-Japan relations.

"Friendly relations between south Korea and Japan based on mutual benefit and equality can never be realized so long as the Japanese people's outlook on history and their world outlook do not change in a sound direction, so long as the Japanese military power which has greatly swollen through the carrying out of defence programmes five times is spearheaded against the Korean peninsula, and so long as the 'pro-south Korean elements' who are eager to freeze the division of the Korean peninsula and to colonize south Korea, hold the steering wheel of Japan's policies. And so long as the anti-national rulers who have abandoned national integrity and pride and are going to willingly put up with any national injuries for their own well-being and prosperity and for maintenance of their power remain in south Korea, there can be no cooperation on an equal footing between south Korea and Japan.

"It is already known to the whole world that Chon Du Hwan seized power through a violent military coup in disregard of constitutional government order, perpetrated unheard-of atrocities known as 'Kwangju incident' and exercises one-man dictatorship by stamping out various elementary rights of the people including the freedom of speech. Even after stepping into office, the Chon Du Hwan regime failed to win the support of the people because various super-scale cases including super-scale, power-involved scandals occurred in succession. We cannot repress our national indignation at the fact that the Japanese government authorities which must be well aware of all this have invited Chon Du Hwan to visit Japan in order to prop up his anti-democratic, anti-national regime. Because this amounts to giving direct and indirect support and countenance to an extreme suppression of human rights and anti-democratic acts.

"The Japanese government has a wrong view that only when a dictatorial power dependent on outside forces which betrays the interests of the nation and the state continues to exist in south Korea, can the interests of Japan be guaranteed to the maximum. From this

false idea, the Japanese government is making every effort to help the anti-national Chon Du Hwan regime to remain in power. This we know full well. As soon as Prime Minister Nakasone came into office, he visited south Korea and held so-called 'south Korea-Japan summit talks' with Chon Du Hwan and went so far as to invite him to visit Japan. But this support for the dictatorial regime which oppresses the south Korean people will meet with their furious wrath and strong resistance, with the result of deteriorating relations between south Korea and Japan. The Japanese government and people must clearly understand this."

In addition, this statement mentioned what a miserable life the Korean women drafted into the "volunteer corps" had led as comfort girls for Japanese soldiers. And it referred to the fact that the Korean nationals who had been forcibly taken to Japan live there, treated discriminatingly even now. "We cannot forget such things. How can we forget national sufferings which are continuing even now?" The intentions of Japan's ruling quarters should be crushed. "The anti-national schemes of the dictatorial regime to take advantage of Japanese militarism so as to get help in their continued stay in power" should be smashed. It is really an earnest declaration!

Thus, on August 15 the statement "Our stand on the eve of Chon Du Hwan's Japan trip" was issued with the participation of nearly all orders of the Protestant Church in south Korea including the conservative churches. Under the headings "The Japanese Emperor Must Apologize to the Korean Nation and Church" and "The Japanese Government Must Apologize to the Korean People," the statement pointed to the persecution of churches in the past and the danger of "the times of south Korea-US-Japan military cooperation" and then protested against the discriminating treatment of the Koreans in Japan.

On the occasion of August 15, the young people's anti-Japanese and anti-government struggle and their practical action has already started. Chon Du Hwan may try to boast to the Japanese side that he has taken the decisive step to visit Japan in spite of all the protests. Today I have no time to give a detailed account of many more things not yet mentioned. After Chon Du Hwan's Japan tour, a nationwide liberation struggle will start again in south Korea. This implies emancipation from under the economic and military yokes of US and Japan. This is because we have to restore the deprived history of liberation at any cost. This

nation was ceaselessly invaded by foreign forces through ages but was never subjected even once. The people of this land will certainly continue on this history.

A "NEW EPOCH" IN THE ANTI-JAPANESE CAMPAIGN

September 17, 1984

ANTI-JAPANESE CAMPAIGN IN WORKING PLACE

"Today we are greeting with great sorrow the 39th anniversary of August 15 liberation of the country. This is a feeling of those who have lived, and those who want to live, honestly and worthily as a member of the nation."

This is the first passage of the statement entitled "Only the building of a democratized society will consummate genuine liberation," which was issued by the Council for the Promotion of Democracy of which Kim Dae Jung and Kim Yong Sam are co-chairmen. Now is an age of "betrayal of national liberation," an age when "the people are suppressed by the same method as Japanese imperialism applied to repress the people of this land, a colony." Therefore, it points out, a national-salvation struggle should be waged.

This is undoubtedly a confession of conscience in this country today. In October 1979 when Pak Jung Hi was assassinated, south Korea's foreign debt was less than 20 billion dollars, but today, four years later, it has reached 45 billion dollars. Namely, it stands fourth on the list of indebted countries in the world. In this period the Chon Du Hwan regime did nothing but bringing about innumerable extra-big financial scandals. So, he tries to hoodwink the people with showy ventures such as Olympics. Included in these ventures was his visit to Japan.

As for bank loans, 48 per cent of the money is taken by 30 big enterprises and 24 per cent by five Big Businesses. These enterprises have 5 or 10 times as large debts as their own capital stocks. And with the money borrowed from banks, the enterprises purchase immovables and make huge investments in land in provision against

inflation. Thus, the banks are converted into their "private depositories".

Under such circumstances, the Kwangsin Construction Corporation in Masan, South Kyongsang Province, went bankrupt recently due to more than 30 billion *won* of debts. This caused such a stormy situation involving even up to the central zone of the province that a cry of distress about the devastation of the local economy was raised. The press reports say that the New Village Finance Corporation which has grown rapidly under the patronage of the powers that be has loaned out 630 million *won* in violation of the 20 million *won* limits. Because the money is not what they have earned by the sweat of their brow, the enterprises and banks have probably lost the sense of figures.

In this atmosphere, foreign capital runs riot by taking advantage of the fact that the Chon Du Hwan government is incompetent and immoral, without the support of the people. Foreigners are allowed to make 100-per-cent investments, and loans by foreign banks are spiralling.

Needless to say, the aid given to this regime by the United States and Japan is entwined largely with such an economic question. The large advertisement of Chon Du Hwan's visit to Japan placed in a south Korean newspaper by the Mitsubishi Automobile Industry Company of Japan under the name of its president Tade Yoshio gives a glimpse of the real end of his visit. It says, "We sincerely welcome the visit of His Excellency dear President of our neighbour country and his wife," and "We wish progress in the economy and automobile industry of south Korea through the Hyondae Automobile Company." Then it states that they will further strive for "mutual cooperation" and "joint prosperity" of south Korea and Japan in a new epoch of their relations.

Why do they place such an advertisement? Is it that they are glad to have their desire fulfilled? Is it that they are entirely ignorant of the south Koreans' national sentiments? The youth of south Korea say: "The Emperor makes an apology? How poor he is! In the past he was at the beck and call of the military, and now he is under the thumb of the capitalists. So they let the Emperor say a few words so as to facilitate their launching out on the exploitation of south Korea. Chon Du Hwan helps them by using the army in suppressing the people. This is probably why Mitsubishi is pleased. It seems stupid to reveal their real intentions by running an advertisement like that." It

may be the arrogance of the Japanese enterprises that made them do so. Surely they are blind fools.

Here I would like to mention a case. In 1976, the "Hanguk Swany," a Japanese fur processing enterprise in the Masan export industrial complex (Its head office is in Tokyo, Japan.), threatened and committed outrages on the union men, and fired them. This time a similar case happened in the "Asian Swany," an affiliated company, in Riri, North Cholla Province. In November last year a woman worker named Kim Dok Sun was sacked 20 days after she had been employed for the reason that she was a member of the Catholic Working Youth Association. But she complained to the Labour Department of the unwarrantable dismissal and was reinstalled. But she was not restored to her former position as a sewer but as a cook. She protested again and came back to her former position in March this year. In May, however, they began to persecute her again after the Pope's visit to south Korea. The Catholic Working Youth Association and the Protestant Industrial Missionary Society issued a statement entitled "We condemn the Japanese enterprise for its suppression of workers," which pointed out:

"The company has reopened oppression, speaking abusively 'It's all right now to dismiss her again,' beating and insulting her. The workers of the same shop were taught to believe that the Catholic Working Youth Association is Red. They were told to insist that 'We cannot work together with Kim Dok Sun' and 'Fire her because she is a Red.' They were instigated to besiege and stage a sit-in at the Riri area office of the Labour Department and the police sub-station. Kim Dok Sun, however, counters all this suppression single-handed and continues the hard struggle all by herself."

Why is the "Asian Swany" so cruel? The time limits for their preferential treatment—total exemption from taxation for five years, and half exemption for three years—are nearly due. So, they are probably scheming to withdraw on favourable terms on the ground of the labour disputes. What on earth does the government support such a foreign enterprise for? This is how the statement raised a question as of June this year. But in July another incident happened. Let me quote a part of the statement "For a righteous working society" issued by the Chonju Catholic Parish Committee for Justice and Peace. The quoted part is about an "attempted rape on a woman worker." It runs:

"The company management failed to expel Kim Dok Sun in spite

of all efforts to put pressure on her, and now instigated villains to commit a rape, but in vain.

"At about 1:00 in the night of July 5, when two members of the Catholic Working Youth Association were sleeping in the Workers' House in the compounds of the Catholic church in Changin-dong of Riri, three rogues intruded into the church. Two of them were on the lookout outside and one man came in through the window and tried to rape, threatening with a fruit knife he brought from the kitchen, but failed in his attempt due to the resistance of the members of the Catholic Working Youth Association.

"According to the statement of the trespasser Kim, he had undertaken this job from the underworld boss Li in the city. He said he heard that Li had received a million *won* from a certain section head of the Asian Swamy on condition that a member of the Catholic Working Youth Association would be violated and this weak point of the woman would be exploited to spy out the secret of the association."

Thus, the Catholic Peasant Association, together with the Working Youth Association, published a statement condemning Japan.

From the statement, I quote the section under the heading "We oppose Japan's neo-colonialist economic invasion."

"What are the actual conditions of south Korea-Japan economic cooperation which constitutes the substance of the 'normalization of south Korea-Japan diplomatic relations' realized by force in conformity with the needs of the Japanese monopoly capital and the political requirements of Pak Jung Hi's government party, by suppressing the nationwide resistance with a martial law and a Garrison Decree in 1965?

"The south Korean economy saddled with ruinous pollution industries born of the contradictions of the Japanese economy which attained explosive growth in the blood of war, has been turned into the position of subcontractor for the Japanese economy. In order to fatten the Japanese monopoly capital, the workers of south Korea have to suffer from low wages, its farming population—from low prices of farm produce, and its fishing people—from low prices of marine products. And all its people have become consumers of Japanese goods. The so-called modernization of the country implies precisely the abnormal over-fattening of the handful of privileged big businesses that are parasitic on the money and technology of Japan.

"Nearly 30 billion dollars of trade deficit is the result of economic cooperation between south Korea and Japan, the terrible pollution disease which bores a hole in the nose is the outcome of technological cooperation with Japan, and the selling of our dear daughters and sisters' bodies to the Japanese for money is the substance of exchanges between the south Korean and Japanese people. Is that really what they mean? As is clear from the fact that the Asian Swamy, a company of direct investment by Japanese, bribed villains to commit a rape on women workers engaged in the Catholic working youth movement, it is another aspect of Japanese capital to trample upon the labour movement to smother the workers' legitimate right to existence."

The 20 years' records of "normalized diplomatic relations between south Korea and Japan" will clearly reveal the true nature of the "epoch of companionship" advertised now by Chon Du Hwan and the Japanese government. In the late 19th century and, in particular, after the Sino-Japanese war and the signing of the Korea-Japan Protocol in 1904, Japan cried for the independence of Korea at every opportunity while pushing her step by step into the pit of national ruin, and trumpeted about peace in the East while dragging it into the crucible of war and into the vice of its tyrannical rule. How seriously does Japan reflect on its past doings and how far has it risen above its past history, so that it is now singing of the "maintenance of peace and security in the Korean peninsula" and "peace and security in the Eastern Asia" and even "its prosperity"? Is not the 20 years' history of "normalized diplomatic relations between south Korea and Japan" proof to the contrary? While discriminating against the Korean residents in Japan as they did before the war, the Japanese rulers say that they regret and repent of the past. Is this not the same double-dealing tactic as was employed prior to the annexation? With this evil regime of Chon Du Hwan how can one expect to usher in a truly new epoch different from the past? Thus, the resentment of the south Koreans expressed in this statement will deepen further still.

In this statement, too, the so-called "cultural exchange between south Korea and Japan" has been attacked vehemently. It says:

"Let us drive out the cheap mass culture of Japan which spreads like an epidemic and establish our communal cultural ways in production. Before anything else, we condemn on behalf of the whole nation the pseudo intellectuals, men of culture and those serving with the mass media who introduce floods of decadent

Japanese culture to paralyze the national spirit.”

The sweet-sounding words “cultural exchange” signify in fact their bid for keeping the cultural market of south Korea to themselves through TV culture, songs, and cinematic culture. As the trade of south Korea is in the red, its culture also shows an adverse trend and retrogression. As a result, sound culture and spirit fall into decay. On September 10, even newspapers editorially repudiated it, though in a mild tone. The “Tonga Ilbo” pointed out, “Let us open up a new phase in the cultural relations between south Korea and Japan—We hope that the unbalance in culture which is worse than the trade deficit will be eliminated.” It emphasized that the south Korean people should know Japan better, and added:

“An adverse balance is not limited to trade. A glaringly adverse trend is observed in culture, too. As of November 1983, the number of books south Korea exported to Japan was only 44,300, but those imported from Japan reached two million in 1,240 kinds. Books which represent culture are no exception. The situation is the same in other fields, too. At present, there are over 40 courses of Japanese literature and language in universities throughout south Korea, and scores of Japanese language research institutes attached to universities.”

What does the “cultural exchange between south Korea and Japan” advocated by the Japanese government while leaving such unbalance as it is mean? While Japan calls south Korea a “matured partner” and talks about “a new epoch in the relations between Japan and south Korea”, how is it that the Japanese universities are so reluctant to set up a chair of Korean language? The intellectuals are now disgusted at the big campaign of propaganda about south Korea by the Japanese TV before and after Chon Du Hwan’s visit to Japan, regarding the fabricated political propaganda campaign as a dreadful thing.

The second number of the “Mass Culture” published on the 1st of August by the Mass Culture Movement Council made a detailed report on the plot of cultural exchange. In particular, it noted how the TVs of both countries were working to “manipulate the masses”. Let me quote a passage from “The present situation and the problem of the cultural exchange between south Korea and Japan.” It runs:

“As is well known, Japan is good at manipulation of the masses. The ultra-nationalists and imperialists of that country boast a past record of ideological education among the naive youngsters to bring

them to make a suicide attack against an enemy's naval fleet for the 'Emperor and the glory of the Japanese Empire.' Therefore, today when the mass media such as newspapers, broadcasting and magazines have developed, it is quite easy to make singers of a neighbouring country catch the public fancy and to lead the foolish masses to be interested in the culture of that country."

This manipulation of the masses in Japan and its "cultural dealing" are going to land in south Korea. This is already apparent on the television of south Korea. Most of the south Korean people are blindfolded so that they may not see the manipulation in this direction. The article concluded by saying that a struggle should be waged against the "neocolonialism" which presents itself in the guise of culture.

TOTTERING MILITARY RULE

October 18, 1984

RUMOURS TELL THE TRUTH

As soon as it had assumed office, the present government abolished the system of keeping newspapers' resident reporters in local areas and left only the news agency "Yonhap Tongsin" to work under its control. Needless to say, it will not report the truth just as the government announcement does not tell the truth. Of late, newspapers chime in with it and accept its false reports. Not only that, they act disgracefully enough to carry their own comments endorsing them. So, rumours dubbed "Rumour News Agency" are prevalent among the people. Simultaneously with Chon Du Hwan's visit to Japan in early September, the "Rumour News Agency" dispatch came that Tok Island on the East Sea of Korea was placed under the joint administration with Japan.

Referring to this at today's National Assembly session, the Minister of Justice stated that the garrison was withdrawn from the island but that "it is unthinkable to transfer it to Japan" No doubt this was a careless slip of the tongue on his part. So the chief of the Security Headquarters announced that the constabulary was still stationed on Tok Island, and denied the rumours.

Many people think that judging from such announcement and statement, something is happening on Tok Island. If Japan were not interested at all, they would not make such utterances as "a new age for Japan and Korea," "matured partnership," "peace and security on the Korean peninsula" and "peace and prosperity in East Asia." This gave rise to anti-Japanese feelings especially among the students.

Anti-Japanese spirit was strong in the student movement which surged extensively in September and October. They shouted demanding the overthrow of the Chon Du Hwan clique, the pro-Japanese stooge, and the students of many universities boycotted midterm examinations. Undoubtedly Japan's press which willingly

carried articles warmly welcoming Chon Du Hwan's visit to Japan will remain silent about the student movement. These days even south Korean newspapers are impelled to report about them, though modestly. A friend of mine who is a newsman said, "There was a great fuss when Chon Du Hwan visited Japan. Foreign reporters were shut out from the interview with him, and even among the Japanese reporters only ranking journalists were admitted, and all the questions to be addressed had to be submitted for censorship beforehand. Foreign correspondents complained about it, but were compelled to obey. Since they got their news from the Japanese government sources, they thought it unwise for their future news coverage in Japan to incur the displeasure of the Japanese authorities, it appeared. Further, they must have thought there was no need to care about the press interview because it was no more than a scandalous farce beneath notice. Waves of press gag in south Korea have reached Japan, so to say. The mad rule in south Korea influences Japan. The two governments trumpet about a great success of Chon Du Hwan's visit to Japan. I cannot understand how they can be so shameless as to behave like that. In my opinion, however, the south Korean government will fall if Japan finds its way deep into south Korea. So I believe the end of the Chon Du Hwan regime is not far-off."

There is something interesting in his views. Let us follow him a little further:

"Isn't Japan watching for the time when the south Korean government will get stuck in a bog? Probably the Japanese think that if they give some handout to the south Korean government when it comes begging for help, they can pocket nice profits which they have been seeking after until now. They presume that if the government falls down, the succeeding government will act haughtily at first, but sooner or later it will come begging for help, and so they will just wait until then. It will be their idea that since the successive governments are keen on making fortunes by dishonest means while staying in power despite the resistance of the populace, the same practices will be repeated. It's indeed an awful political realism. I mean they slight the people regarding them as the rabble. Another version of the affair is also possible. Japan is tailing behind America at all times. It was the rule in Japan's diplomacy to tag at a strong one's heels, but afterwards to make plunder more savagely than its foregoer. Japan was very cautious yet vicious. America gives active support to the

government of its junior ally at first, but deserts it afterwards when the resistance of the people to this government becomes more fierce. Ironically enough, this is why America maintains its popularity to a certain degree in south Korea, I suppose. But each time the government changes the south Korean people's hatred for Japan increases. Japan deserves this because it thinks nothing of the people and the masses of south Korea. Hatred for Japan only waxes. It will explode for sure some day."

Noting that Japan is actually working evils more and more contrary to its pledge that it would advance towards a new age after making apology and atonement for the wrongs it had done in the past, he wondered what it was going to do with all this. This reminded me of the cursed crimes committed by Japan since the latter period of the 19th century. The discrimination against the Koreans in Japan is above all eloquent proof of the hangover and continuation of the past, he said, and went on:

"The Japanese government takes the question of Koreans in Japan too lightly. This is largely connected with the fact that the south Korean government does not care about the question of the Koreans in Japan, regarding it as unrelated to its interests. However, to the south Korean people this question is a yardstick and a mirror to judge Japan's posture by. Now I am watching the movement against the fingerprinting on the register of foreigners. I believe that the anti-Japanese action will be a powerful and real movement only through the unity of the movement at home with that of the Koreans in Japan. No wonder the question of Koreans in Japan fell out of sight of the Japanese government which thinks nothing of the south Korean people."

He also mentioned Hwang Byong Ryol of the newspaper "Kyonghyang Sinmun" who died from some unknown cause during Chon Du Hwan's visit to Japan. Doubtlessly, the Japanese police which keep silent about the incident that occurred unexpectedly under such a strict watch and cordon, must be considering it a disgrace to their countenance.

Is the malady of south Korea-Japan tie-up so deep-seated?

Another "news" he told me was the shoot-down incident of the plane of the Korean Air Lines last year.

"Sad to tell, a newspaperman has to report rumours rather than facts or truth. I wonder if this is common to all countries, not only in south Korea. Rumours about the Korean Air Lines are likely to spread

far. The crew chief of the plane Chon is said to have long since received money from a certain American office every month and a week before his last flight he had his life insured. The large sum of insurance money must have already been paid, I guess.”

Now the students are attacking the south Korea-US-Japan tripartite military alliance. The uniformed Chairman of the Joint Staff Council of the Japanese Self-Defence Forces, with a US general, had a meeting openly with the top crust of the south Korean army and even inspected the parade of the south Korean army held on October 1 on the occasion of the so-called National Army Day. The young people ask in protest if Japan has landed in south Korea not only in the economic and political but also in the military fields. What is it that the south Korean, US and Japanese authorities are after in East Asia? The south Korean people are increasingly anxious about this. Suppression of their resistance is redoubled. Riot police prowls about the streets of Seoul. So dreadful is the atmosphere that it appears something horrific might happen. Streets look gloomy, totally bereft of brightness. Nearly ten buses of riot police are parking round the clock in front of the campus gates. The agents of the Army Security Command, CIA and police are planted in every organ under various titles. Bogus students who are agents have been exposed in universities, evoking criticism. University professors, too, are said to have secret instructions to offer detailed information.

The agents are causing troubles in Christian organs. Clerks attending on the executives are bought out by security organs. The agents vary. Some are planted from the first, others are bribed in midway, and yet others do as they are told to for fear. So quite a few of them have been kicked out, but there are still many remaining undetected. If they are expelled, new agents will be planted. Then, this will result in a growing number of victims. Therefore, many are left alone, it seems.

THE INCIDENT AT SEOUL CHURCH NO. 1

In August 1983 there happened an incident that a presbyter did violence to Pastor Pak Hyong Gyu and had his teeth broken. So, 153 church members protested against the presbyter under joint signature. But 20 other members including the presbyter began to obstruct the church service every Sunday even by using loudspeakers.

Accusing Pastor Pak as a pro-communist and the like, they refused to follow the instructions of the presbytery (parish council). Policemen were on the scene of violence, but they looked the other way and rather covered the assaulters.

On August 19 the trouble developed again into a violent action and five persons were severely injured beaten by iron tube. Pastor Pak Hyong Gyu and 48 Christians staged a sit-in in front of the Security Headquarters. Unable to endure the fact that the police "assume the attitude of an onlooker or aid and abet the assaulters," they shouted, "Check the action obstructing the church service" and "Check violence." For this they were all walked off by riot police, but the police chief set them free, promising them to work out a "responsible solution." Nevertheless, Pastor Pak and his church members were locked up in the church by a band of thugs for 60 or more hours from 1 p.m. of September 9 to 2 a.m. of September 12. An agent of the Army Security Command was at the head of the terrorist gang. This was when it was brought to light who was scheming to disrupt and undermine the church that had struggled for human rights and democracy. On September 16 the believers staged an all-night stay-in in the office of the Human Rights Committee inside the Christian Hall. At that time they submitted the following demands to the Chon Du Hwan government:

1. The Army Security Command must stop disrupting, slander-ing and wrecking the south Korean churches as is the case with Seoul Church No. 1.
2. The Minister of the Interior who assumes the responsibility for public peace must thoroughly investigate the cases of illegal confinement at Seoul Church No. 1, the destruction of church properties and fixtures and the violence incident, severely punish the prime movers of these cases and lay bare the truth before the south Korean churches and people.
3. The Chon Du Hwan government must bear full responsibility for the future developments.
4. The south Korean churches must counter the policy of slander and wrecking against the churches pursued by the despotic government in a ready-to-die attitude.
5. Democrats from all walks of life, students, youths, workers and farmers must counter the fiendish acts of violence of the present government at the risk of their lives, and fight for democracy.

On September 23, Sunday, two cars with loudspeakers began disturbing the church service. Shouts were heard, "Pro-communist Pastor Pak Hyong Gyu, get away!" and "Pak Hyong Gyu, a minion of Satan, off with you right now!" The agent of the Army Security Command was shouting, his private car parking close to the building. The moment the service began the thugs rushed in. Random beating started. An attempt was made to continue the service on the housetop, but they dragged down the believers by force. While beaten, the believers held fast to the principle of nonviolence. The police was called out, but they only remained spectators at the bloody scene.

The service was over and the people were coming down to the ground floor for lunch. Hooligans let pass the young men and women who came first, when Pastor Pak Hyong Gyu came down, one of them gave the signal and the command "Combat group, forward!" was shouted. The thugs struck Pastor Pak in the belly, knocked him down and trampled him underfoot. Many people who tried to protect Pastor Pak were also beaten. Pastor Pak was taken away from their clutches with difficulty, but the blackguards came after him yelling, "Kill the pastor fellow!" and "He is still alive. I'll kill him".

Such outrages were perpetrated not only in the Church but on the street outside the Church before the eyes of police.

Church women were also beaten. The inhabitants in the neighbourhood shouted at the thugs, "Why do you beat? You can talk to them, can't you?" But the outrages went on. Pastor Pak and nine believers had to be hospitalized. There is no need to say that not an assaulter was ordered to appear at the police. On September 24 when he was lying in his sickbed in the Holy Mother Hospital in Myong-dong, Pastor Pak Hyong Gyu had his letter entitled "To the brothers and sisters in the home of Jesus Christ" taperecorded and made it public. Its full text is quoted here:

"At present I strongly feel that my life is in peril. I have come through two crises—the lockup from the 9th to the 12th of this month and yesterday's outrages. I cannot tell what will happen in the future. It depends on the decision of the hidden forces which intend to remove me. Their manoeuvres to spark off an internal strife in the Church and make it appear that I was killed because of it have become obvious enough. I would like to divulge a fact which I know before I am killed by them. It is apparent that the Army Security

Command has been engaged in a secret operation since about 1981 to cause an internal strife in the Church in order to remove me and, taking advantage of this strife, let an organized band of gangsters kill me and simultaneously wreck the Church.

"In June 1984 I confirmed this fact through a high-ranking official of the Blue House. And a certain general who was Commander of the Army Security Command until recently admitted this fact before the Chairman of the General Council of the Presbytery of our religious order.

"This can be proved also by the fact that my cousin who was once a civil official of the Army Security Command was put to the cross-examination of the inspection committee on the charge of interfering with the operation and then dismissed.

"I know that since the latter half of 1981 the intelligence men of the Army Security Command called at the workplaces of my church members and urged them to move quietly to other churches or sometimes threatened them through their superiors. One of them, a civil worker, succumbed to the pressure and left the church. I informed the authorities concerned of this fact many times and asked them to stop the Security Command's manoeuvring to maliciously slander and wreck the church. In July this year I obtained a promise of a high-ranking authority that he would stop the moves of the Army Security Command. After that promise, however, the subversive activities became further aggravated, and there was an impression that the police and public prosecutors joined hands in patronizing and backing the acts of violence within the church.

"When the present government claimed to stand for 'politics free from violence,' I wished it would be true. However, I witness now terrible illegalities, outrageous acts and distortion of facts being perpetrated overtly and in an organized way with the connivance of law and police. In face of such a double structure and exercise of power, no one can survive once the power decides to clear him out of the way.

"I, as a cleric of the church, have endeavoured to do my best in carrying out the mission entrusted to the church by God. To combat injustice and expose falsehood is one of the church's original missionary duties. It is the original posture of Christian gospel for the church to stand by the working people to defend their human rights and interests. For this reason I am falsely accused and criticized as a pro-communist pastor. But as a pastor of the church, I carried on this

work, regarding it as a duty of the church. Even if I am to die a martyr, I am ready to gladly accept the martyrdom, considering it my cross.

“Unfortunately, however, the present government, while advocating social justice and welfare society as slogans, continues to pursue the policy of suppressing and bearing down by force on the workers, peasants, students and the weak. That they split and defamed the Church and left it at the mercy of violence reveals for all to see once again the terrorist nature of this government. My great anxiety is that if such a state of things continues, not only the government will run into peril but the entire nation will be thrown into a chaos. If our churches, either Protestant or Catholic, fail to call a halt to such a state of affairs as slandering each other, encouraging dissension in the Church, employing violence and thereby making it impossible to discharge the original mission of the Church, I believe there is a danger that the ordeals and pains which we suffered under Japanese imperialist rule and which the churches of the Central and South American states or in Africa are now suffering under the fascist governments will increase in south Korea, too.

“The structure of political power with its two aspects, one being the administration of affairs in the full light of public notice and the other being the backstage operations by the Army Security Command and other organs to silence the people by bringing pressure to bear on them, and the fact that all the government officials including the National Assemblymen are bowing low to the menace of this violence have been brought into the light of day through this incident. So I have made it clear to them that I will never bend my knee to violence. Once we bow to violence, this will mean even the church which is the last stronghold to fall back on succumbs to the sinister violence. Then there will be no establishment which can represent the nation and the truth.

“Therefore, I am defending the last stronghold ready to die a martyr.”

This graphically shows what is going on in south Korea under the fascist rule of the Chon Du Hwan clique. It is violence that runs riot inside and outside the state machinery. Meanwhile, they are fawning upon foreign countries to earn their favour. That is why, I suppose, some big powers praise and support the Chon Du Hwan clique, much pleased with their flattery.

On September 27 more than 100 pastors and preachers had a prayer meeting for Pastor Pak Hyong Gyu at Seoul Church No. 1.

And then in the streets they distributed to citizens the prints headlined "At the news that Pastor Pak Hyong Gyu's life is in peril due to mass terrorism and violence." For this 18 persons were arrested and interrogated and five persons were sentenced to five days' detention. In the prints their determination was expressed:

- "1. We will continue our struggle until the present terrorist government resigns;
- "2. We, along with all the believers, will unfold an anti-violence movement against the violent suppression of the church;
- "3. We condemn the recent actions of violence as an outrage committed by the Army Security Command;
- "4. We call on the entire clergymen and believers of the south Korean Church to put up resistance with the readiness to suffer martyrdom;
- "5. We will take the lead in the anti-violence movement with a resolve to die martyrs. We will watch the foreign forces that help and support this terrorist government."

The conscientious people of Japan are requested to bear in mind that Japan began to occupy a conspicuous place in the "foreign forces" after Chon Du Hwan's visit to Japan. Many south Koreans think that singing the praises of "a new epoch in the Japan-south Korea relations", the Japanese government will encourage the violence of the Chon Du Hwan clique, and the mass media of Japan, keeping pace with it, will keep silence about the storms sweeping across south Korea.

Already on September 28 a resolute attitude was taken by the Korean Christian-Presbyterian General Association to which the church of Pastor Pak Hyong Gyu belongs. The incident of assault on Pastor Pak and believers took place in the very presence of police right after a resolution was adopted on this matter at the September 20 General Association meeting. So this cannot but be regarded as a "challenge" to the General Association as a whole, it said. It took a posture of confrontation by declaring, "He who lives by the sword shall die by the sword," and "This religious order will never retreat even a step in the face of the violence of the authorities." It is reported that the churches of the world, too, are voicing strong solidarity with them.

Pastor Pak was advised by his entourage not to ascend the pulpit for the time being for the safety of his life. But he was resolved

to stand at it, prepared to be killed by terrorists. One who fears violence cannot win victory. Death by violence is rather a Christian victory. This is the prelude to the victory on the earth, he thinks. That they have no other recourse but to openly terrorize the churches is the sign that the days of the government of the Chon Du Hwan clique are numbered.

Today in the darkness of south Korea the people see the historical signs which show that a death knell has already begun to sound for those in power.

THE EVER-WORSENING CRISIS

November 17, 1984

INDIGNATION AT LOATHSOME CONDUCTS

Maybe these are dying symptoms of the military fascists?

Although I hesitated for various reasons, I think, I must tell you of the outrages and, in particular, the detestable conducts of the Chon Du Hwan clique. I blush to mention it. There will be friends who say it is a reproach to our nation. But several formal statements had already been issued about them. They must have been motivated by the thought that such scandalous conducts should be exposed before the world. A fascist dictatorship, no matter when and where, will commit such shameful inhuman acts of violence. A terror-ridden society gives birth to such ugly men and acts. They are hostile to truth and democracy and show enmity towards their people. The rule of the Chon Du Hwan clique reeks of administration over an enemy country or an occupied territory.

Let me quote a long statement here:

“Policemen or criminal rapers? We accuse the police of bestial outrages.

“The brutal physical violence of the power authorities against all the democratic students, citizens and people who value the truth and conscience has now become so outrageous as to abuse our pure and chaste girl students for their sexual pleasure.

“We have seen many of our schoolmates having their eyeballs struck out of the sockets, their heads ripped open and even killed under the police cudgels wielded in the name of law and shielded by the press which labels the students as being radical and violent.

“Now police violence has gone so far that policemen in uniform perpetrate fiendish misdeeds openly without hesitation.

“In this situation, we, Christian students, deeply reflecting on our irresoluteness, impotence and apathy of conscience, should like to appeal to the conscience of the entire Christians and citizens and, at the same time, clarify our standpoint.

"On September 4, the students of the University of Foreign Studies and four other universities jointly put a play on the stage at that university and then went out to hold a peaceful demonstration in the streets, shouting slogans such as 'We resolutely oppose the country-selling trip to Japan.' As the students marched out of the campus and moved on some 50 metres they were checked by riot police and Pepper Fog cars. So they made to return to the campus. At that moment plainclothesmen and the Samchong Education Corps (a gang of thugs mobilized under the name of education) fell upon them and walked them off as if they were dragging away dogs. A girl student with her clothes torn and her breast exposed was lugged along the street.

"Of the students who were forcibly taken to the police three girl students of Kyonghui University were sentenced to a week's detention at the summary trial and sent to the detention cell, where their bodies were searched. The riot police ordered the girl students to take off their clothes. When rejected, they told other women inmates to strip them naked. One of them pleaded that she was in her menses, but it was no use. When the girls were standing naked, trembling, a riot policeman rushed in. The frightened girl students cried 'Get out!' but he snarled 'You bitches, who told you to demonstrate?' He yelled at them, 'Stand up', 'Right about', 'Sit down', 'Hey, keep your legs wide open', 'Wider, I say', 'Sit down', and 'Stand up'. All the while, some riot policemen were watching the scene. Choked with shame, the girl students felt like dying on the spot, they said later (the testimony of the victim). The situation in the Sodaemun police station was the same as here. There was a girl student undergoing examination. One night she was asleep in the cell, when a drunk detective came in and woke her by kicking at her breast and demanded that she take off her clothes down to the waist. In face of her stubborn resistance, he went away in the end (the testimony of the victim).

"What happened on November 3, the Students' Day, was all the more surprising. A joint celebration of the revival of the Students' Day was held at Yonse University that day. The police very strictly blockaded the university, and even arrested all students who happened to pass nearby. Of them 160 were walked off to the Sodaemun police station. The plainclothesmen and riot police who were beating them mercilessly, hurled invectives against girl students, 'Aha, here are even hussies! You ought to have stayed at home

and done washing.' They stripped four girl students down to the waist and struck them with a club wrapped in sacking. They were taken away to somewhere else, and when they returned, they were almost senseless. Nobody knows what bitter experiences they had gone through (the testimony of a boy student of the K university who was detained together with them).

"That day the cell of the Sodaemun police station was too crowded and so a part of its inmates were transferred to the Kangso police station. On the way, girl students wanted to go to toilet. Riot policemen followed them to toilet and did so much as toy with their breast. Later the policemen boastfully repeated the scene before their colleagues (the testimony of an arrested boy student of the K university).

"On the same day a drunk riot policeman by the name of Yon Jae Gu of the Chongryang-ri police station kicked the arrested students in the face with his combat boots and beat them at random, saying, 'We'll soon get out of uniform. I'll let you have your fill of flogging as a souvenir of my discharge'. He also beat girl students, heaping foul invectives on them, 'You sluts, why are you here? If you have got nothing to do, lick my prats'. When one of them resisted, he took her by the hair and pulled her around. So her hair was plucked out, her face was so much swollen as to be distorted, and she was bruised all over (her own testimony).

"How can we tolerate such outrages? Should our girl students be made a sexual plaything of the so-called riot police simply because they cried for freedom and democracy or supported the others calling for them?

"At the time of the incendiary incident of the American Cultural Centre in Pusan in March 1981, the police examining Kim Un Suk and other girl students involved in the case, tortured them in such a way as to strip them naked, blindfold their eyes, have their arms bound behind their backs and plunged them into the bathtub to have them drink water. In March 1983, there was a case of rape in Seoul University when a man who was believed to be a secret agent outraged a girl student.

"We know of a case of destruction of family peace by three criminals who were engaged in robbery and raping. They were the first criminal offenders who were sentenced to death sometime ago, though they were not homicides.

"They were shameless enough to rape a daughter before her

parents, and mother and wife before her children and husband. The judge was quoted as saying that 'The act of the accused is a homicide graver than physical murder' and 'They themselves ceased to be human beings.'

"What sort of people are these policemen who, sheltering themselves under the influence of the powers that be, made sport of girl students before their schoolmates and friends to satisfy their abnormal sexuality? They are infamous villains who ceased to be human beings of their own accord and, at the same time, are guys who are indulging in outrages on the people under the shelter of state power.

"The present government which is trampling down the people's liberty, democratic order and elementary human rights of the masses has not only increased the army and police as instruments of violence and allowed them to abuse violence as a daily routine but authorized them to trifle with girl students to gratify their sexual desire.

"Can you ever call this country a land fit for human habitation, the country where people are killed, maimed or raped for the reason that they craved for democracy and showed concern for the destiny of the nation?

"We cannot endure any longer. No one knows when and who will lose his or her sight, have his or her head broken or have his or her bowels ripped open to die. No one can tell when and which girl student will be deprived of her maidenhood which is more precious than her life. We are all facing a terrible crisis.

"We, however, cannot remain mute onlookers to such infamous acts of violence. We will continue to struggle vigorously against those who ruin humanity and trample down human dignity.

"Democratic citizens of this country who love freedom and democracy! Fellow students of this land who suffer from tear shells and clubs! And women of this country who are about to rise up by themselves!

"Let us march on for democracy, facing up to the realities in which outrages and infamy are rife!

"We demand:

1. To call to account the chiefs of the Chongryang-ri and Sodaemun police stations who are responsible for the cases of scandalous acts against girl students;

2. To expose and arrest as criminals those detectives and riot policemen who committed scandalous acts against girl students and

riot policeman Yon Jae Gu who used violence against them;

3. That Minister of the Interior Chu Yong Bok resign at once assuming the responsibility for the facts that since 1984, police violence has caused loss of eyesight to four persons including Choe Yong Sok and serious brain contusion to two persons including Im Jin Su and for the scandalous acts of police against girl students.

"Justice-loving citizens! Let us ring up those responsible and protest against barbarous, scandalous conducts of police.

Chongryang-ri police station chief—Tel. 966-4346

Sodaemun police station chief—Tel. 362-2345

Minister of the Interior's office—Tel. 720-2451

November 13, 1984

The General Federation of Korean Christian Students Association."

"Can one ever say this country is a land fit for human habitation?" They cannot but negate this country's mode of existence as a whole. So, the revolutionary struggle is inevitable. If they come to bear up for communist society in the end, the responsibility for this rests with the handful of fascist band and their supporters—the military and the big power. The United States checks the aspirations for independence along nationalist lines and development towards democracy everywhere, although this is useless as a solution to the question. This inevitably paves the way for the communist revolution. Japan, too, can never be acquitted of its responsibility for this crime. In unison they clamour for anti-communism and insist that they safeguard the free world. With the 21st century coming nearer, the masses will become more furious all over the world.

The cases of scandalous conducts against girl students were also reported by the "News of Human Rights" (dated November 15) published by the Human Rights Committee of the Korean Council of Christian Church. The Women's Affairs Department of the Youth League for the Democratization Movement, too, made public the details of these cases. It appealed to the citizens:

"The government which had usurped power by force of arms, killing numerous people, has always played the leading part in irregularities and corruptions. Now it is even using shameful conducts against women as an instrument to repress the movement for democratization.... The present government which is unable to maintain its power without recourse to brutal force, has now gone to

the length of unhesitatingly making sport of women to satisfy their abnormal sexuality and using violence against them. The shocking immoralities of the present government which massacred thousands of Kwangju citizens when it was seizing power are acts of treading on human dignity as a whole. How can parents who have daughters live in peace in this country or walk along streets free from worries."

Demanding that the police chiefs responsible for the misdeeds be exposed and punished, it called on the citizens, "Ring up all press organs and urge them to report about these scandalous cases as they are and awaken the journalists." It also appealed, "Every citizen is requested to let his neighbours and friends know of these facts, so that the abominable immoralities and outrages of the Chon Du Hwan government will be exposed and denounced." It further asked the women's organizations of the world to raise their voices in protest against them.

On November 13 the girl students' departments of all universities jointly organized a fact-finding committee and issued a statement. Like the case of rape committed by a security agent at Seoul University in the spring of 1983, these incidents point to the scheme of the government to stir up feelings of terror among the students and thus silence them. This is a nasty trick which reveals the true colours of the Chon Du Hwan clique. This is why the police keeps silent in the face of the voices of protest as they did in the spring of 1983. The girl students stressed:

"Now we are resolved to inquire into this grim reality more thoroughly opening our bloodshot eyes still wider, let the entire people know the truth, denounce the immoral, outrageous present government and, at the same time, fight on in the name of justice."

Can such cases of violence and misdeeds silence the people and save the situation? Is it true that even the opposition party in Japan which professes itself to adhere to socialism is going to pay a visit to this bloodstained government under such circumstances? Is this what they call political realism? What sort of bargain are they going to make? It seems that Japan is an entity destined to be totally rejected by the Korean people as ever.

Yesterday thousands of students, mostly girls, gathered at Koryo University and protested against the cases of disgusting conducts of the police. The audio-taped testimonies of the victims and eyewitnesses who are students were released at the gathering. The police immediately countered this by stating that it was "groundless" and

that it was aimed to "agitate and instigate honest students." This must have been an artifice to suppress the students' demonstration. Then, has police become so lenient or so powerless as to be unable to check "groundless rumours" when the students were spreading false reports about their misdeeds against girl students?

By announcing that they are "groundless," the police meant to create such an atmosphere as to threaten the people to be careful lest their daughters, girl students, should be subjected to such mishaps.

THE UNITED STUDENT MOVEMENT

The students' resistance grows stronger day by day all over south Korea. These days even the newspapers, the government-patronized mass media, cannot but fill up large part of their city or local news page with reports about the students' struggle every day.

The question of students is too ticklish for the Chon Du Hwan clique to cope with, and it has become a life-or-death issue for their regime. When the students are expelled from universities, they join the force of resistance in the streets and when they are put into jail they influence even criminal convicts to stage strikes in prison together. If they increase in number, there will be great disturbances in all prisons of south Korea. When they are returned to universities, they try to form a united front not only among universities but also with the workers.

The police refrain from checking them by force so long as they do not demonstrate outside the campus. Arresting student demonstrators in the streets, they put only those regarded as prime movers to a summary trial and detain them for a week or so. As compared with the days when the students were jailed for two or three years, this may appear to be a lenient handling. But this is aimed to prevent the students from waging struggles in prison and becoming revolutionaries after they are released. The Chon Du Hwan clique cannot help but foresee a dreadful consequence which may follow when the number of such students exceeds 1,000 and reaches 2,000.

So measures were taken for their rehabilitation, but this can hardly bring peace to the universities. If the students had wanted to finish their university course quietly, they would not have taken such actions from the first to be expelled from the campus. It is their faith

that the despotic and corrupt Chon Du Hwan government should be overthrown and democracy won. Can one only pursue his personal comfort when the tyrannical ruling system is left alone? And the criminal acts of the Chon Du Hwan government are growing rife every day, aren't they? This is what they are thinking.

The university authorities do not permit students' autonomy and freedom. The Chon Du Hwan clique schemes to coop up the students in the campus and pit them against the professors so as to exhaust their energies in this showdown. In fact, this brought about clashes between the teaching staff and the students.

On September 5, a demonstration was held at Kyongbuk National University in Taegu in protest against Chon Du Hwan's visit to Japan. Over ten professors fell upon a student and bumped him against a fireplug, thus breaking his teeth. The next day more than 200 students who were about to hold a "funeral ceremony of neo-colonialism and neo-militarism," were assaulted by the teaching staff. The students held fast to the nonviolence principle and scores of them were injured due to the mob violence by the teaching staff. One of them had his glasses broken and another got a deep gash in the foot that its bone was bared. And those who protested against such outrages were beaten up before they were expelled from the university. The joint statement of October 10 entitled "Our Stand on the Recent Suppression on the Campus—What Does the Case of Secret Agent at Seoul University Mean?" issued by the General Federation of Korean Christian Students Association, the Youth League for the Democratization Movement, the National Federation of Korean Catholic Students Association and the Young Men's Christian Association in south Korea had this to say with reference to the incident at Kyongbuk University:

"In order to lodge a protest against such repeated outrages and indiscriminate disciplinary measures, two students went to the office of the university president and requested an interview with him. But they were forcibly dragged out by the teaching staff who had cast away even the last ounce of their conscience under the rule of the terrorist government. In this process, the students attempted to set fire to the building in self-defence. Without lending an ear to their voices, the police and the government-patronized press framed up this case into an incident caused by a mob. And at the bidding of the Chon Du Hwan government, the university authorities struck their names off the register and handed them over to the police. Thus they

became the first students who were arrested after the so-called campus autonomy measures were taken."

It is unprecedented in the history of this country that professors committed violence against their students for the reason that they called for democracy. This is an outcome of the measures for leaving intramural issues to the care of the professors and for allowing the police only to step in outside the campus. Accordingly, if the professors fail to check the struggle of students beforehand, they will have to answer for it, and if there is a sign of "disquiet" among the students, they should keep sharp lookout in and out of the campus so as to investigate and watch them. At times, they have to keep an eye on the moves of the students from a corner of the campus or lay their heads together to discuss the "countermeasures" even at dead of night.

Never before was the prestige of the professors degraded so low as today, and it must be the first time in the history of universities that they have such a keen sense of humiliation. The Chon Du Hwan clique is going to draw everybody into their system of violence and immorality. It may be called an operation to dehumanize people. Reporting about the students calling for campus democratization, mass media described them as "some small number of ultra-left" elements as instructed by the authorities.

The university authorities condemned the moves to form student councils as an illegal act, refused to recognize the chairmen of these councils elected by the students and eventually called in the police to arrest them.

Plainclothes agents of the Army Security Command swagger about in the campus, and victims increase due to the outrages committed by the authorities under the pretext of preventing demonstrations.

Students are pressganged into military service continuously, and many of them are groaning in the barracks, a veritable prison.

The students have naturally reached the conclusion that without a bloody struggle, campus democracy cannot be realized.

They have also come to the realization that only the bloody struggle of the entire people can put an end to the fascist system of the Chon Du Hwan clique who dream of the private ownership of the state.

This is how matters stand with the south Korean students today. When the students who demanded university autonomy and

removal of plainclothes agents were expelled from the campuses and thrown into prison in retaliation, their fellow students went to the Democratic Korea Party, a would-be opposition party, and staged a sit-in, urging it to take appropriate measures.

So, with regard to the case of secret agents at Seoul University, the Democratic Korea Party declared that although the four agents' identification cards had not been verified, they had behaved themselves in such a way as to incur the suspicion from students.

The Democratic Korea Party further pointed out that the police, without inquiring into facts, "indiscriminately arrested" many students who had nothing to do with those who had detained and interrogated the secret agents, and cast a dragnet for the leaders of the student council, unreasonably labelling them as suspects, and that this gave an impression that the student movement is suppressed" and that "it was deliberately intended to emphasize the outrages of the students."

Needless to say, newspapers did not say a word about these facts.

The students of Seoul University adopted the tactics of boycotting midterm examinations. This spread to other universities. Then, 6,500-strong police force was rushed to Seoul University at the dawn of October 24.

An announcement was made that the students who interfered with the examinations would be punished or imprisoned and those who boycotted them would be given zero marks. This, however, has caused more troubles.

Contrary to the claim that the police force was sent in to enable most of the students to take examinations, the number of the students who boycotted them actually increased to more than 80 per cent as soon as the police arrived. If so many students were given zero marking, the educational administration would inevitably fall into a great confusion. Voices of protest were raised high against the authorities and the university president for meddling in the appraisal of the students' scholastic marks which was within the professors' competence.

Furthermore, it was said that even within the police itself a view was voiced that the mobilization of not only the riot police but the ordinary administrative police for the suppression of demonstrations would only confuse social order.

In particular, this was due to the fact that while the students tied

down the police to the universities by unfolding large-scale movements, they compelled it to fill the whole city of Seoul with policemen, by employing the urban guerrilla tactics by which small groups of students would appear and demonstrate suddenly at unexpected spots of Seoul. Now 6,500 policemen who accounted for 20 per cent of the total police force in Seoul were thrown into one spot, Seoul University.

The plan to force the examinations upon the students fell through due to the police. Furthermore, not scared by this monstrous scene of "occupation of Seoul University by the police," over 2,000 students encircled by the police held a peaceful demonstration, shouting, "Riot police, get away!" "University president, resign!" "Let us win the freedom of campus and social justice!" In this course, 239 students were walked off by police.

The police, after drinking a bitter cup, withdrew on the night of 25th, the next day, and simultaneously the students walked off to the police were released.

6,500 men are equivalent to a force of 40 companies, and the mobilized trucks surpassed 200. The government and the university authorities ascribed the students' boycott of examinations to the agitation by a few students, and the mass media reported in the same strain. All this, however, was proved false by the mobilization of this large police force. Eighty to ninety per cent of the students refused to take examinations and those who were forced into the examination halls resisted by handing in blank papers. Some students wrote on their examination papers "Appeal to the professors who are forced by others to behave as they do now."

The mobilization of police force revealed how incompetent and shiftless the Chon Du Hwan clique is with regard to the student movement. It is something beyond their control.

The mobilization of 6,500 policemen was no more than an attempt to threaten them, but things have come to such a pass that this sort of intimidation does not work at all, it seems.

November 3 is "Students' Day," the day when the anti-Japanese student movement was launched in Kwangju of South Cholla Province in 1929. According to the historical records, over 54,000 students of 194 schools throughout the country took part in the Kwangju student movement from November 3, 1929 to March 1930, of whom over 580 students were imprisoned and 2,330 students were suspended from school indefinitely. March 1, 1919,

the day of the nationwide independence movement, and November 3, 1929, the day of the students' anti-Japanese movement, are observed as national memorial days. This shows the extent to which Japan cast a dark shadow on the history of this land, and it lingers on still to this day. The "Students' Day" had been commemorated for 20 years after its institution in 1953, but in 1973 the Pak Jung Hi regime abolished it, scared by the students' movement. It was restored by the Chon Du Hwan government this year. Otherwise, they feared, more serious troubles might happen on this day. In fact, on November 3, the commemorations were held extensively throughout south Korea, and fierce flames of resistance rose. It was more than a day of fierce struggle which resulted in many wounded persons. It was really a historic day. The united front of students was inaugurated at Yonsei University. A national conference of representatives of the students from 42 universities was held and the "Students' Federation of Struggle for Democratization" was born. Practically it is the birth of a united organization of action corps which will stand in the forefront of the struggle for democracy. The girl students who fell victims to the scandalous deeds of police are also participants in this conference.

Let me quote here a part of its inauguration declaration headlined, "Banner That We Cannot Lower! Struggle for Democracy!":

"Now we are united as one to usher in a spring of liberation by our united efforts in this frozen land where just criticism based on conscience and intellect is stifled by confused views on value and moral degeneration, the practical endeavours for the progress of history are condemned as violence, and only continual slavish silence and submission are forced.

"On the occasion of the commemoration marking the revival of the Students' Day, we, recognizing the identity of the national-liberation spirit of the Kwangju students who rose up indignantly in resistance to the Japanese imperialists' policy of strangling our nation and the fighting spirit for democracy of the April revolution which powerfully struck the bell of freedom heralding the new dawn in the darkness where the dictatorship ran riot, draw up in battle array in order to creatively carry forward the national-historical legitimacy of the anti-Yusin struggle for democracy which had been carried on unceasingly for the consummation of the April revolution and the Kwangju resistance struggle for democracy in May 1980. This

meeting of today is a fruit of the blood lesson of the struggle in May 1980 and the sure inheritance of the national-liberation struggle of the Kwangju students in 1929.

"We, basing ourselves on the brilliant traditions of the anti-Japanese national-liberation struggle which continued ceaselessly following the Tonghak peasant war and of the national, democratic and popular movements of the May Kwangju resistance for democracy, will forcefully turn the wheel of history until national reunification, democracy and national liberation are achieved.

"We define the reality of today as a state of anti-national, anti-popular split of the nation imposed on it by the outside forces and the handful of military dictatorial group backed by the former. Look at this reality of national division which spells all sorts of injustices and tragedies for the 50 million people of this land! The southern half of Korea has been converted into an offering on the nuclear altar of the big power and our nation stands at the crossroads of life and death.

"Above all, recently, the anti-national military dictatorial group, by ushering in Japanese imperialism which is speeding headlong along the road of neo-militarism, is inviting military subordination following political submission and trying to gear our nation to Japan's scheme for colonization.

"How can the present government which struggles hard to maintain its monopolistic exploitative machinery under the umbrella of the US and Japanese monopoly capital, speak of the independent reunification of our nation?

"The anti-democratic nature of the military junta is as clear as day. The handful of military rulers who had usurped power by trampling underfoot the constitutional government of this country through the reckless May 17 military coup, made themselves unpardonable enemies of the nation because they had cruelly massacred over 2,000 citizens of Kwangju who sought to defend the democracy of this country at the risk of their lives. The Yusin Constitution has not been abolished by the general will of the people. It has been falsely revised through the concentration of power in the hands of the president by the medium of the dummy organ called National Security Legislative Council, the establishment of the system of indirect presidential election, and the enactment of various repressive laws. Furthermore, after four years in office, the present government is already plotting openly to amend the Constitution for a prolonged stay in power. Is this not true?....

"Looking forward to the day of great victory for the people, we democratic students who have been fighting against the anti-national, anti-democratic, anti-popular military junta with the object of building a united democratic state where the popular masses are the master, hereby declare the founding of the 'Students' Federation of Struggle for Democratization', in response to the call of history for creatively taking over the experiences of the movements and achievements of the struggles in the past, positively overcoming the present phase of deceptive conciliatory attitude and forcing the present government to resign....

"Fellow students! Let us close our ranks with a solemn determination.

"Let us shatter the anti-democratic intrigues of the military junta.

"Long live national reunification! Long live the people's victory!"

The meeting also issued an appeal, which called upon the "democratic forces" of all universities to unite and endeavour to clear anti-democratic elements off the campus and turn the universities into "ones which serve the nation and stand by the masses."

Noting that "a lawful struggle should be waged valiantly in the coming general elections for the restoration of democracy," it stressed that the students must unite with all "honest-minded people" in order not to repeat the "failure of 1980."

At the beginning, the appeal said the present time was when the "comprador pro-Japanese government" was ruling the roost, and declared:

"It is not ours that had not fought Japanese imperialism. Now everything that had fought Japanese imperialism either remains only in form or has gone out of sight altogether, whereas only sports, sex and '88 Olympics are all the rage. The behaviour of the present government that flatters and renounces our national pride before Hirohito, the enemy of our nation and the principal culprit of the Pacific War, outshines even Li Wan Yong (traitor to the nation at the time of Korea-Japan annexation). Today's reality when the people become ever more impoverished and even their minimum right to live is ruthlessly trampled on clearly shows whom the Chon Du Hwan government is serving. Voicing the will of the entire university students, we define our epoch as an anti-national, anti-democratic and anti-popular epoch."

That day the students distributed "Appeal to Citizens," which raised protest against repression of the labour unions in particular.

The day witnessed large-scale resistance struggles in local universities, too. In North and South Cholla Provinces, Wongwang University, National Chonnam and Chonbuk Universities and Choson University jointly issued a statement entitled "Let us hold high the banner of struggle against dictatorship and for democracy, carrying forward the tradition of the anti-Japanese independence movement of the Kwangju students—a joint declaration of the four universities in North and South Cholla Provinces on the occasion of the 55th anniversary of the independence movement of the Kwangju students."

The statement also stressed that "by carrying forward the tradition of the independence movement of the Kwangju students, they should tear down the menacing, dark mantle of Japanese imperialism and advance vigorously until the day when democracy and national reunification are achieved."

The Chon Du Hwan government has lost its bearings in ruling the country. They are desperate to locate the force behind the students' federation or its leader.

Although aggravating business recession has been featured in newspapers, the authorities seem quite shiftless, leaving it to take its own course. They permit up to 100 per cent investment of foreign capital. Then what about the foreign enterprises which have so far been bound to the limit of 50 per cent? The people, even little children, call Chon Du Hwan a good-for-nothing and his wife Li Sun Ja a "blessed lady" meaning a wicked real estate adventurer.

Ironically they dubbed the so-called Fifth Republic of the Chon Du Hwan band a "Sports Republic." Chon Du Hwan is ridiculed as a talent who appears on TV every evening. His wife appears every time in a different costume, maybe she has mistaken it for a fashion show, so is she sneered.

A rumour is afloat that once the National Assembly election is over next February, they may brandish the sword once more to suppress the people and students. And it is said that February has been chosen for the election because then the students will be in their vacation. But no matter what means they may employ, it is no more than a stopgap, and it is believed that the military rule has reached the limit of its resources.

Under such circumstances control over the publications and

democratic movement organizations has inevitably loosened to some extent. It may be rather correct to say that they are too much for them. It is true that publications of the democratic movements are seized or their wide distribution is forbidden. Nevertheless, there are many of them in circulation. The Youth League for the Democratization Movement continues to publish "The Road to Democracy" and recently put out a booklet "Political Power and Irregularities and Corruption."

The Christian Students Association published "Justice and Peace" and the Council of the Popular Movement for Democracy put out "The Voice of the Masses."

Even such books of a nature of underground publications are openly in circulation. Books on the democratic movement in the 1970's and those of an anti-government nature are also published one after another.

"Taesolnam" by Kim Ji Ha is now laid out for sale at bookshops and it is among the best-sellers. We can say that the movement for democracy has scaled such a height that books like that are no longer regarded as radical. The students are going to advance from this height to a new, higher peak. It must be said that large numbers of ordinary students have now risen to the very spot where progressive students were standing one or two years ago. On the other hand, the political power is going downhill at an increasing speed.

ON THE OCCUPATION OF THE DEMOCRATIC JUSTICE PARTY HEADQUARTERS

If we are to talk of the students' movement, there is no end to it. The students do not forget the days when democratic resistance was made, and the days when democratic students were killed.

On November 8 a meeting was held in memory of Hwang Jong Ha who had been killed in Seoul University last year. November 13 is the day when Chon Tae Il burned himself to death at the Pyonghwa Market in 1970 deploring the miserable plight of the women workers in the cloth-making industry, shouting, "We are not machines." Informed that there would be an assembly somewhere near the Christian church building in Chongno Street-5, the police besieged the area. So, the young workers and students assembled around the bus terminal outside the East Gate. Marking this day, the Students'

Federation of Struggle for Democratization issued the "Statement of the Students' Federation of Struggle for Democratization" calling on the students to form a united front with the workers.

Eventually, around half past four in the afternoon of November 14 the students "burst" into the headquarters of the Chon Du Hwan clique's Democratic Justice Party. The well-organized 264 students surged in all at once from all directions, shoving off the guardsmen. They acted in good order. As they put it, it was a nonviolent, "lawful" urban guerrilla operation. They made a 14-point demand headlined "Our Claims" in the name of the Students' Federation of Struggle for Democratization. It runs:

1. Stop at once the suppression of the Taeu labour union, and President Kim U Jung must apologize publicly.

2. Approve the Hyopjin and Yuni electric labour unions and reinstate the dismissed workers.

3. Approve the Chonggye labour union, and Minister of Labour Chong Han Su must take responsibility and resign.

4. Discontinue the suppression of the labour movement and revise the evil labour law.

5. Lift the ban on all political activities of the democrats including Kim Yong Sam and Kim Dae Jung.

6. Repeal the laws on assembly and demonstration and the basic law on the press.

7. Revise the law on the election of National Assemblymen which disregards the system of proportional representation.

8. Put an end immediately to the participation of generals from the military in politics.

9. The Chief of the Security Headquarters must take responsibility for the Chong Jong Uk case of Koryo University and for the scandalous conducts on girl students at the Sodaemun and Chongryang-ri police stations and resign.

10. Minister of Education Kwon I Hyok who ordered suppression and terrorism against the demonstration struggle of the Kyonghui University students must resign.

11. Abolish the ordinance on establishing the Student Homeland Defence Corps and recognize the general student council without delay.

12. Introduce the minimum wage system with a daily pay of over 4,000 *won* (some 1,117 Japanese *yen*), and raise the wages by more than 20 per cent.

13. Raise the purchase prices of autumn crops by more than 20 per cent and cancel all the debts of farm households.

14. Stop the evacuation of houses with no appropriate measures taken and ease the housing shortage of the citizens.

At present the labour problem presents itself as a very serious issue. With the backing of the powers that be, the big enterprises trample on the rights and interests of the workers, and the wages are nearly frozen. The workweek is from 54 to 58 hours on an average. When business becomes dull in the construction and other fields, the big enterprises monopolize the industries including the fibre industry which were formerly controlled by medium and small enterprises, thus driving the latter to bankruptcy. As a result, medium and small enterprises produce large numbers of unemployed.

Labour accidents have increased. As compared with last year, their number is over 25 per cent greater. So it is natural that voices demanding the revision of labour law and a wage hike should become louder. All this is kept under control only by the force of the police. It is presumed that the labour problem will probably become very serious next spring.

Under such circumstances, on November 2, the workers of the Tæu Aberal, a clothing factory under the big enterprise Tæu, staged a sit-in in the building of the Democratic Korea Party, a would-be opposition party, in protest against the suppression of labour union by violence. Since the company represses them in conspiracy with the political power, the workers had no alternative but to go to such extremities. Coming back to the factory after the 8-hour long sit-in, the 50-odd union members were clubbed. This is why the students courageously took up the labour problem.

The Chong Jong Uk case of the Koryo University is an incident which happened on November 3 when Chong Jong Uk on his way home from the commemoration of the Students' Day held at the Yonse University was hit by a bus and seriously wounded while attempting to evade police checkup. He is still in a state of coma.

There was a murder case in a prison where a prisoner who was serving a ten years' term for a violation of the Anti-Communist Law was killed by another inmate convicted of murder, five months before his time. The authorities disclaimed their responsibility for it. Recently cases of police violence causing heavy injuries to demonstrators have happened in succession, and it is often reported that some of them died of the aftereffect of tortures.

When a demonstration took place at the Kyonghui University, the university authorities by direction of the Minister of Education called out the students of the sports department to suppress it and thus caused many injuries. The so-called instructions of the Ministry of Education on the campus problem have been discovered in the office of the President of the Kyonghui University.

The purchasing price of autumn grain crops also poses a serious problem. The government decided to raise it three per cent. According to this, a sack of rice weighing 80 kilogrammes sells at 57,650 *won*, but this means over 20,000 *won* cheaper than the price set by the Catholic Peasant Association, that is 77,889 *won*. The rate of price increase is 10.5 per cent, and production costs continue to rise. In the past three years the debts of farm households have increased 110.4 per cent. Meanwhile, the total assets of 50 monopoly groups went up by 81.9 per cent. The funds earmarked for the purchase of autumn grain crops from 10 million farmers are no more than one-fourth of the financial credit to a single big business. So, the Korean Peasant Association and the General Federation of the Korean Christian Peasant Associations demanded: "Put an end to the policy of sacrificing agriculture" and "Minister of Agriculture and Fishing Industry Pak Jong Mun, step down at once assuming the responsibility for deceiving the farmers and committing a blunder in the agricultural policy."

The case of "evacuation" is an incident which occurred near the Anyang River south of Seoul. This is where 20 years ago, the poor population of the slum quarters of Seoul were forcibly made to settle down after they were evicted from there on account of city planning. It was a settlement built on a dump. Now, with the expansion of the city, the Seoul municipality planned to buy up the whole lot to build apartments for rent and again issued an eviction order to 5,200 families. They aim to buy the land at 70,000 - 140,000 *won* per *pyong* and when the apartments are completed, net in a profit of 1.5 million *won* from each *pyong*. This means that the state profits by robbing the common people of their property. Rumours have it that the parental home of Li Sun Ja, Chon Du Hwan's wife, is manoeuvring behind the scene. The inhabitants of the place are fighting against the project, but, of course, the press almost keeps silent about it.

In face of the protests of the courageous students who took up such problems, the Democratic Justice Party bluffed that upon its

honor, the ruling party should never yield to the students' outrages, violence and pressure. Thus 13 hours later, the students who were staging a stay-in strike were all walked off by the police force that stormed into the building by cracking a wall.

The Democratic Korea Party persuaded and sent back all the students who came to lodge a protest, but the Democratic Justice Party refused to hold a dialogue with them and handed them over to the police.

At the bottom of this get-tough policy lies the Chon Du Hwan clique's fear of the students' urban guerrilla operations.

In the provinces, too, the offices of the Democratic Justice Party are stoned. Probably the students will not pass over the aforesaid 14-point demand as a temporary slogan. They are expected to map out tactics for the next phase of struggle so as to go through with the demand to the last. The students act cautiously so that the police cannot get wind of it. Newspaper offices and enterprises which have been acting so arbitrarily and impudently in disregard of the interests of the nation and the masses these days, may be occupied by students, nobody knows when. Actually they have their heart in their boots. The Democratic Justice Party tries to take a tough line. However, will it work?

In a statement headlined "What made us break into the Democratic Justice Party building?—We call the Democratic Justice Party to account for everything and urge all democrats to awaken and unite," which was issued on November 14 in the name of Seoul University Committee of Struggle for Democratization, the students declared:

"Now we clearly know that our struggle should move a step forward. It must on no account be a sporadic move motivated by a momentary demand. We should continue to struggle perseveringly in firm unity until everything that is anti-national, anti-popular and anti-democratic is swept into the far-off sea beyond the Korean peninsula."

This is not a struggle which will end by issuing an isolated statement. As they pointed out in the statement, the students tried, at risk to their lives, to hold the "despotic Democratic Justice Party responsible for the past and present anti-democratic, anti-popular attitude" of the powers that be.

Chong Jong Uk, even if he has become "a mere vegetable," "cries for the realization of genuine democracy with his eyes wide

open," and the students, in response to "his will for democracy preserved in his heart," occupied the building of the Democratic Justice Party, and called it to task for its sins, prepared to suffer the pains of being dragged off to the police station, the statement says. Is there any other way to follow? Does it mean going the way of building an "advanced nation" much vaunted by the Chon Du Hwan clique that they keep silent even when the girl students are humiliated so outrageously? Such questions are voiced by the young people who are in anguish. Is it that Chon Du Hwan and his party is going to close their ears to this?

Today I have a lot of things to mention. When the General Secretary of the World Council of Churches who represents the Protestant Church visited south Korea in October, the scene was totally different from when the Pope had visited it. All the mass media were banned to report about him. So he was obliged to go to Kwangju as if under an incognito. But the people of the city received him in tears.

This is what happened when the relief rice came from the north. The people who had come to the south from the north around 1950 were anxious to have a taste of the rice from their dear native place. There were people who got a small amount of rice from the north in exchange for many times more rice, and others who spared the rice they received for their relatives or friends from the north. Thus beautiful and touching scenes were enacted. Since the north sent so much rice to the south, the propaganda of the Chon Du Hwan clique that the people in the north were hungry has been blown up. The relief measures taken by the south Korean government at the time were insignificant, and so the discontent of the flood victims was very great. It is probable that the north had known such a state of affairs.

In any case, it was a heart-warming step stemming from compatriotic love.

POWER BORN OF THE GUN MUZZLE

December 15, 1984

DIARY OF FIGHTING WORKERS AND STUDENTS

In south Korea the company, the Ministry of Labour and the police are united to stifle the moves of the workers by force. Provoked beyond endurance, the workers revolt and, as a result, tragedies take place one after another. Let me write about several instances which caused a sensation.

The struggle for the reconstruction of the clothing workers' union at the Pyonghwa Market in Seoul still goes on despite many cases of arrest and imprisonment. The Lu Bookbindery, a subcontract bookbinding company in Yongdungpo, employed Li Ok Sun who had once been a union leader at the Wopung Woolen Textile Company without knowing her antecedents. But learning that she had been imprisoned for nine months, the management of the company used all forms of violent methods to oust her. This bookbindery has more than 200 workers, but no labour union even now although it has a history of 38 years. The daily wages of newcomers are below 3,000 *won*. Upon learning the past life of Li Ok Sun, the company management pressed her to submit an application for resignation in exchange for two million *won*. When she declined, they locked her up and let other workers wearing a towel around their head shout, "You saboteur, get out of here!" In the end she was not only driven out but put in hospital, injured. This happened in October, but the struggle is still going on.

The Electronic Plant of the Hyopjin Company in Kuro industrial settlement No. 1, Yongdungpo, is an industrial giant with 14 subsidiary companies. However, its working conditions are so bad that it is called "Hujin (underdeveloped) company". The daily wages of new workers fresh from secondary school are 2,400 *won* and those of workers with a five years' standing are 3,100 *won*. So, the wage level at this company is below the minimum limits; 3,340 *won*

set by the government. The workers fought unceasingly to form a labour union in the teeth of the company's suppression. After repeated failures, they came to form the union on September 18, despite the incessant obstructions, far from help by the National Federation of Metal Workers' Unions. From that day on the union members were continuously subjected to lockup, violence and eviction from their posts. Nonetheless, 300 of its 350 workers joined the union despite unceasing suppression, because they had suffered from terrible working conditions in the past.

Meanwhile, the district office declined to issue the certificate of register of the union's formation. The president of the company is a National Assemblyman and the chairman of the labour committee of the ruling Democratic Justice Party. In October he pressed the workers to break away from the union, used violence against the union leaders and fired three of them. But the struggle continues. The Hyopjin labour union is fighting jointly with the Yuni Electric Company's labour union, its fellow sufferer. The Yuni Electric Company sacked six union leaders. By organizing a company union, it wrecked the free labour union.

"Savage crackdown on the labour union" continues at the Taeu Aberol Company in the Kuro industrial settlement belonging to the Taeu big business. It is south Korea's biggest clothing factory with over 2,800 workers. But the workers' wages are awful. A female beginner gets 2,040 *won* per day and 61,200 *won* a month. On the evening of June 9, 105 workers formed a union at the hall of the Textile Workers' Federation. At the time, a band of goons sent by the company surrounded the meeting hall and intimidated the workers. Those who joined the union were expelled from the dormitory of the company. Conciliatory measures and violences went on and four union leaders were dismissed.

So, over 100 workers went up to the housetop of the factory building and staged a sit-down strike all night through. As a result, an agreement was reached concerning the reinstatement of the dismissed workers and wage increase, but it was unilaterally scrapped later by the company management allegedly because it had been forced upon it. So, 80 workers went into a sit-down strike again in the office of the chairman of the Federation of Korea Trade Unions on October 25. This led to the exchange, under the eyes of the interested organs, of documents on a 100 *won* increase in the daily pay and the return of four workers to their jobs.

Back at the company, however, they were met by outrages of the drunken management staff and football team members of the company, 150 all told, who were lying in wait for them wooden staffs in hand. All of the over 100 union members were wounded, seven sent to hospital and one of them lying senseless for days. In this over two hours of rampage, the document of agreement was wrested away and burnt and the union office was demolished. And money in women workers' handbags was stolen and their resident registration cards, pocketbooks and the like were burnt. The workers were locked up all night, and the next morning a meeting denouncing the labour union, was held where all workers were called out and made to shout, "Labour union is Red. Get out of here." It was a horrible scene—tears and blood, pressing for resignation and resistance. This is how things stand in the Taeu complex, one of south Korea's largest businesses. On November 2 more than 70 workers of the Taeu Aberol staged an eight-hour sit-in at the headquarters of the Democratic Korea Party which professes itself to be an opposition party. As soon as they were back to the company, they were assaulted and beaten by a group of thugs armed with wooden staffs, and four of them were sent to hospital. Here, too, a hard struggle is going on.

At the Pando Engineering Company in Puchon, southeast of Seoul, three workers who had overworked for more than 130 hours every month, fell ill in July and died in August one after another. According to their families, their tongues had stiffened, their eyesight had been lost, their limbs benumbed and their breathing had become difficult before they died. The doctor who let out that they died of an occupational disease incurred a blackmail from the goon squad. The result of the postmortem examination was kept in the dark. Considering that they had worked in a cloud of iron dust, they were believed to have died from lead poisoning, but the hospital refused to issue medical certificates for them. So, the families turned to the church for help. In south Korea the number of people who are victimized in obscurity like this is increasing.

The Korean Light Electrical Appliances Company in Taegu has 300 employees, most of them being women. The pay of a novice is 2,500 *won* a day. Its managing director by the name of Han made no bones about reviling and beating the women workers. On August 28 he flogged Kwon Yong Suk as hard as her dress was torn on the pretext that she was slow at work. The said Kwon entered a lawsuit against him in order to do away with such evil usages. In answer to

this, the man submitted a petition signed by all employees of the company, which cleared him of the charge. This was a plot to sack her. In the end, on September 19, 30 odd workers were mobilized to lock her up and pressed her to hand in her resignation. The company did so much as hold a meeting condemning her, which adopted a resolution saying: "Kwon Yong Suk intended to ruin the company by suing the managing director. Go away at once!"

In this case, too, the Ministry of Labour and the police pigeonholed the appeal and lawsuit made by the workers. This gives a glimpse of the dark reality marked by the workers' resistance and the "out-and-out suppression policy" of the government. In this situation the Social Missionary Council of the Korean Churches and the Taegu District Human Rights Propagation Committee of the Korean Christian Church Council deals with the authorities, warning that the government repression will "inevitably call forth a greater explosive resistance of the workers".

As if to prove this warning, a taxi driver Pak Jong Man burned himself to death in Seoul on November 30. According to the press, he staged a hunger strike on the 28th of the month before the front gate of the taxi company demanding the reinstatement of the unwarrantedly dismissed union secretary and other members and in the end poured petrol over his body and burned himself to death. It is said that prior to this the company management had not only turned a deaf ear to the drivers' protest but threatened to fire three hunger strikers. Hearing of this, Pak Jong Man killed himself after leaving a note that he was sacrificing himself to prevent further sufferings befalling the drivers.

Following this incident, all democratic organizations including democratic labour organizations held a joint memorial service and resolved to fight. This was the second case of self-burning suicide following that of Chon Tae Il, a worker of the Pyonghwa Market, in November 1970. Last May and June 80,000 taxi drivers all over south Korea stubbornly struggled in protest against harsh exploitation in Taegu, Pusan and other cities. This time, however, resistance came not in the form of explosive demonstration but of suicide in flames. This was a death representing the voices of the eight million workers of south Korea.

Pak Jong Man is the father of two sons. The elder son is still a third-year pupil of primary school. The company he had served had an ex-police cadre as its deputy president and employed 115 drivers.

Involved in various rights and interests and so highly profitable, the taxi companies are mostly run by ex-servicemen or ex-policemen. It is said therefore that they are enterprises where exploitation and oppression are the most glaring. This time 11 union leaders were written off the payroll.

The police dispersed the condolence callers by mobilizing over 700 armed policemen and took off the coffin and carried it to the cemetery arbitrarily. Let me quote here a passage under the heading of "The Details of the Case of Self-Burning Suicide" issued by the Labour Subcommittee of the Council of the Popular Movement for Democracy on December 7:

"At about 7 o'clock (on December 2) the police indiscriminately beat and outraged the over 60 condolence callers who desperately protested against it, before dragging them into hencoops (riot police cars) and shooting tear shells into the cars sending them all senseless. Then the police dragged them out and laid them on the grass until the smell of tear gas was gone, only to load them again onto three hencoops and, making them kneel down in the cars, kept beating them. Seizing this opportunity, the police snatched the coffin of Pak Jong Man and ran away to the Ilsan Christian cemetery.

"In the summary trial held that day (December 4), the over 60 workers and democrats stubbornly refused to be tried. So four or five policemen dragged them out one by one to the court, all of them tied up. But the court presented a chaotic scene with shouts, 'Bring Pak Jong Man back to life' 'Revise the evil labour law!' 'Bootlicking judge, get away!' and 'Gangster police, get out!'"

In the summary trial which lasted all day long, the over 60 persons were sentenced to 10 to 29 days of detention and are now kept divided in 20 police stations in Seoul. It was a fierce battle. The police was the mob and the judge an instrument of violence. Latterly the police has become so outrageous that it does violence even to those who come to see their colleagues held in custody. This is probably a sign of impending downfall of crumbling state power.

The students' moves, too, went on impetuously. But they subsided with the coming of frost and the beginning of the winter vacation. But with Pak Jong Man's burning suicide, they rushed out again for demonstrations in the streets.

Of things connected with the students, there are two smouldering incidents, one being the "case of infamy against girl students" and the other the "sit-in in the Democratic Justice Party building."

Referring to the scandalous case, the police authorities announced that investigations disproved such a fact. This inflamed the anger of the persons concerned. Despite the police statement that it is "groundless," it is reported that even the Democratic Korea Party pressed the government to clear up the truth and call the officer in charge of public peace to account. And the girl students concerned with the incident brought a lawsuit against the policemen in question. Encouraged by this, the Seoul Bar Association formed a fact-finding committee. And 12 Christian and other women's organizations gave in a bill of indictment to the Seoul Local Prosecutor's Office, naming the guilty policeman. The Christian churches are sending the Minister of the Interior and the Chief of the Security Headquarters letters demanding a fair explanation of the case. They are also urging the press organs to report the truth.

Countermeasure committees against police infamy on girl students started activities in all universities. In face of such developments, the police is molesting the mothers of the three girl students of the Kyonghui University to find out their whereabouts. At midnight two mothers were taken to the police station and forced to sign a false statement denying the fact. The police intimidated one of them by saying that if she refused to sign, they would revoke the business licence to the restaurant owned by her cousin. The Kyonghui University countermeasure committee against police infamy on girl students published an appeal on November 30 exposing that the police, while covering up the truth, was rather trying to accuse the girl students of having circulated a false rumour.

The letter of indictment submitted by many Christian women's organizations on December 5 has an accompanying pathetic declaration of conscience written by the three girl students who are now menaced by the police that seeks to cajole and coerce them into denying the infamy case. Two girl students admitted that they had signed the false statement, unable to see the sufferings of their families tormented by the police. But when they learned that owing to this, their friend was accused of spreading false rumours, they felt they were obliged to tell everything honestly, they noted. They are in hiding. The accused Miss Kim Yong Sun concluded her "declaration of conscience" (dated November 18, 1984):

"Although I am in hiding temporarily for fear that the police might apprehend me again and threaten, beat and torture me, I feel very uneasy and nervous. I have thought and resolved that even if I

am arrested some time and intimidated and tortured, I will hold out, tell the truth and refuse to tell a lie.

"But I am writing this in hiding, for fear that I might go back on my conscience by admitting a falsehood simply to defend my life and myself and guard the safety of my family. If my juniors who had had a bitter experience as I, denied the fact, I believe it was not the voice of their conscience but they said so under duress.

"I make a vow with a true heart and upon my conscience before you who are fighting for truth and justice that if ever I should some day disavow my own testimony made at the press interview (November 16), it is absolutely untrue."

She further wrote that it was perhaps because she had a social standing as a student that she, though a very shy woman, could make such a resistance. This is something women workers cannot do. She knew well, she added, that while engaged in struggle they would be "beaten, insulted and abused" more than the girl students.

In their resolution adopted on December 6, the women's organizations which launched out on accusation pointed out "extreme haughtiness and loose discipline manifested in the fact that the public servants of the people look down on the people and those who are entrusted with the arms to protect the security of the people use them to endanger the lives of the people," and deplored the stance of the "state power which has gone beyond the dangerous watermark."

Another incident, that is the case of sit-in in the building of the Democratic Justice Party, too, is a serious problem. The 264 students who participated in it were all walked off by the police, of whom 19 were arrested and 186 were sentenced to 10 to 29 days of detention at a summary court. This is nothing but obedience to orders of the military men in power by the judiciary which has been deprived of independence. Kwon Ik Hyon, the representative member of the Democratic Justice Party, ranted, "There can be no compromise with rioters. All that remains to be done is for them to surrender and deliver themselves to justice." Like Chon Du Hwan, he is also an 11th term graduate of the Military Academy. Who did he mean by rioters? He made the Ministry of Education issue an order to the universities to expel 120 students and punish all those who were involved in the case. In that case, it is beyond any doubt that a more violent storm will sweep across the campuses. Already at the Law College of the Koryo University most of the students boycotted the terminal

examination, making it clear that they could not take the examination while their classmates were in police cells.

The power born of the gun muzzle is distressed in a great dilemma. Both the soft and tough policies have no effect. Almost all the 186 students tried summarily were discontented at the ruling and demanded a formal trial. The greater part of the people are sneering at the Democratic Justice Party's hard-line policy in relation to this case. They think that it has clearly shown once more that they themselves are rioters.

Violence is rife. Pastor Pak Hyong Gyu's Seoul Church No. 1 is left to the mercy of violence. Even in this winter, most of the Christians hold service outside the church on Sundays, since it is occupied by hoodlums. Though an agreement is reached through a consultation with dissident believers to hold the service of the day peacefully, intractable hoodlums will appear when the hour of service comes and go on a rampage, wounding people. The CIA, that is, the State Security Planning Board, seems to think badly of this, but the Army Security Command appears to consider the recourse to violent suppression the best way to adopt.

Allow me to put down my pen here, although I have still many things to comment on. During the winter, small groups will continue to fight. Next spring, Chon Du Hwan and his company will have to face a do-or-die situation, while coping with the backwash of the elections.

The year of 1984 is running out cheerlessly. The year 1985 will mark the 40th anniversary of national liberation, the 35th anniversary of the outbreak of the Korean war and the 20th anniversary of the conclusion of the "south Korea-Japan treaty". What sort of scenes will the year present? The struggle is prolonged. One must get encouraged by the untiring, dauntless struggle of young people, their ever deepening struggle. The victory in the revolution is a victory which is won only once after going through many setbacks.

I am deeply touched to think of the friends abroad. I wish them a happy New Year.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION ABIDING THE SPRING

January 17, 1985

STRATEGY OF THE FIGHTERS

Chon Du Hwan and company are planning to hold general elections in February, the month unfavourable for student activities because of the winter vacation. However, the students' struggle is not altogether on the decline. On January 14, Seoul University started receiving applications for admission when from about the noon nearly 1,000 students staged demonstrations handing out a handbill under the name of the General Student Council of Seoul University.

It reads in part: "The morning is dawning. We must awake from our sleep. We will be a torch to light up the darkness until the daybreak, to shed light on this gloomy reality. In Kumnam Street of Kwangju, at working places and in the sterile fields, we will dedicate the self of today to our own self of tomorrow."

It says that the examinees have been brought up until today within the narrow bounds of "powers of memory" and "marks" and of ambition for a brilliant career. "Here," it adds, "telling you of the 'nation,' 'masses' and 'democracy,' we are going to weather through difficulties hand in hand with you." It went on to say that the criminals who massacred over 2,000 citizens in the Kwangju incident have christened, funnily enough, their party as "Democratic Justice Party". Referring to the general elections, it remarked:

"Having robbed the true democrats of their seats overnight, they tied up the democrats under law, calling them thieves, and prattle, 'Now let's hold fair elections.' This is how things go in the elections now. The item 'Merits of the President and the Democratic Justice Party' which appears on the TV programme as frequently as the 'Lottie Milk' ad is a part of the illegal, preparatory election campaign carried on through the government-patronized mass media which have praised the present regime all the time.

"The Democratic Justice Party is frantically trying to secure a landslide in the general elections by conducting such advertisement and by bribing the heads of residential sections and neighbourhood units, as well as the district councils, with large sums of political funds. Meanwhile, the people have been poisoned by their policy of obscurantism through the media of sports, porno films and thus their political consciousness has been numbed, and the voices of the opposition parties censuring the foul election manoeuvres of the Democratic Justice Party are drowned in the din of the shouts coming from the arena of humbuggeries practised by the arch-villains."

The note further explains the reasons why the Democratic Justice Party is trying so hard to hold on in power, and why they cannot keep power otherwise. The explanation is based on the actual conditions. The party is under the thumb of 30 generals. Take the former Army Security Commander Pak Jun Byong for one. He is responsible for the crushing by force of arms of the mass resistance in Kwangju as commander of the 20th Division of the 1st Army Corps. Yet, this principal culprit of the Kwangju massacre is to run for the National Assembly this time. The note clearly pointed out: How cruel and rotten they were who styled themselves as the "leading reformist force" in the Democratic Justice Party. A poem entitled "Father's Words" by poet Chong Hui Song was quoted. Here are its opening part and concluding lines:

*The students throw stones,
And the armed police keeps firing tear shells.
The students beaten in their fight,
Are said to have been walked off in hundreds
From under Kwanak Hill (Seoul University), from Anam-
dong (Koryo University),
And from Sinchon (Yonse University) and in Kwangju.
Whenever such news is spread,
You, son, would come back home late at night,
In work clothes stained with blood, drunken.
Seeing you, this dad would stand speechless
At the gate, moved and feeling like weeping.
Glad, but how sad!
Here in this land where I have lived all my life,
Son, if I tell you to live an easy life*

*It's as good as telling you to be a thief.
And if I tell you to live honestly,
It's to urge you to live in abject poverty as this dad.
Scared at the logic of this land,
I would keep silent....*

*Nonetheless, I must say what I have to say.
Son, never be afraid of poverty
And learn to hate wicked men.
Don't take your adversity as your fate.
Forget not you're always one
With your neighbours who live upright, though poor.
Don't forget that they are your strength,
And that they make your country.
My son, who is shedding blood,
Stones in hand even now.*

The students formed the General Association of Students which is not recognized by the authorities, and elected its chairman and deputy chairman in a democratic way. Further, they organized the Election Measure Committee of the National Federation of Universities and the Federation of Students for Democratic General Elections. But all leaders of these organizations have been either arrested or are hunted for by the police. Active students participate in the circle activities permitted by the authorities. Their struggle at the moment is aimed at pulling down the ruling Democratic Justice Party and foiling the general elections. For this purpose they staged a sit-in in the Democratic Justice Party building last November. The "Declaration on the Founding of the Federation of Students for Democratic General Elections Aimed at Checking the Plot for Perpetuating the Democratic Justice Party Dictatorship," on January 14, too, directed its spearhead first on the Democratic Justice Party.

In particular, the first slogan condemning the forces which endeavour to prolong the military dictatorship with the Democratic Justice Party as its mainstay, said, "We are dead set against military men such as Chon Du Hwan, the main culprit of the Kwangju massacre, Pak Jun Byong, Kwon Jong Dal, Ro Tae U and Chong Ho Yong taking part in politics."

At the same time, the students strive to present a common front with the people who are fighting for democracy all over south Korea. As the problem of the workers becomes acute, even the Democratic Justice Party has come to mention the revision of the labour law. While pretending to grant the workers' demands to some extent, they strengthen suppression organizationally by infiltrating ex-servicemen and policemen into them. Under the name of development the poor are driven away everywhere. Development projects have become an important source of political funds for elections and of moneymaking for those in power. The people voice their protest against this in different parts of south Korea. The students and the democratic forces seek to strengthen their solidarity with them.

Another thing notable in the current struggle is the fight in court. At the summary trial of over 60 persons on last November 30 in connection with the self-burning death of taxi driver Pak Jong Man, too, the accused waged a litigating struggle. When thrown into prison, the accused will put up a struggle behind bars harassing the prison guards. Now even the judges are at their wits' end. They are averse to appear in court because it looks as if they themselves are tried.

It is really a cynicism that America's backing of the Chon Du Hwan clique in the name of anti-communism and the tie-up of the American and south Korean militaries have brought about the rise of the "Left" forces in south Korea. The United States, its military in particular, has made such a blunder everywhere. But how come the Pentagon has singled out a man like Chon Du Hwan of all men? It is probably because no one else can perpetrate such barbarities in defiance of the flow of history and the conscience of the nation. Honest words cannot be expected from a military ruler. Pak Jung Hi had promised twice with tears in his eyes that he would not extend his term of office. When he staged the Yusin coup in October 1972 with the object of remaining in office indefinitely, he described it as a revision of the Constitution for the reunification of north and south Korea. All he cared for was to cheat his adversaries. Military men have no qualms about telling a lie which is beyond the imagination of a civilian statesman. They pose as if they were victors when they have played a trick on others.

A young man said:

"It is one of the greatest gains in our struggle in the 1980's that we have discarded our illusion about the United States and become

anti-American. At present we focus our attack on the corrupt military men who are its stooges. They are intriguing to keep power to themselves even after 1988. If the attack is concentrated on them, the young officers will feel too ashamed to raise their faces. The idea that they cannot survive unless they share the people's wishes will surely grow up among them. At present it may appear that we are suppressed and are running about trying to escape from it. But I do not think that way. It is they who are at a loss under the impact of our attack. These days we raid them by guerrilla tactics. They can get no information about our plans beforehand, so they are quite perplexed. We may possibly turn so radical as to use violence, but we now share the views of more moderate seniors in the movement for democratization. Because we believe that violence and nonviolence, radicalism and moderation are incidental to any kind of struggle and they are two aspects of a strategy rather than antagonistic. Accordingly, these two aspects complement each other, I suppose. There is no hope for the present military power to gain in strength by winning the people's support. In this respect they will meet with greater difficulties. The reverse is the case with us. We are confident of victory. We are conscious of our own mission."

In this sense, the strategy and tactics of the fighting forces will develop further in breadth and depth. They rack their brains how to make those in power beaten and put out by their guerrilla tactics.

Therefore, it may be said that they are more intent on how to exploit the coming election to pave the way for their future victory than on its results.

KIM DAE JUNG'S RETURN HOME

February 15, 1985

THE CASE OF KIMPO AIRPORT

The fascist regime believes that power is omnipotent. This seems to come from the modern way of thinking. The moderns think that technology is everything. Because they reckon they can remodel freely as they please even nature which they regarded as something inviolable. And here are fellows who think that given power, they can operate society as they like. People are now combating this satanic way of thinking.

But there seems to be something in history which cannot be dominated even by satanic power. A new history can be created by reaction to that power. I presume that in the future south Korea may possibly follow the course which defies such power. The trend of opposition to the rule by the military is mounting daily on a nationwide scale. "The military means a group of generals and their followers of the field grade who have seized and exercise political power by using the army in their own interests." This is a quotation from an article entitled "A Dissection of the Democratic Justice Party" which was carried in the "Advancing Jesus," a lawful organ of the Young Men's Christian Association in south Korea. It pointed out, "The government of the Fifth Republic is defined as a military government and the Democratic Justice Party, as a military party." Then it declared its opposition to the domination of the military. This struggle is led by students and people in their twenties or thirties expelled from the campuses. It is generally admitted that speaking of their strategy and tactics, their thoughts and sense of duty, the older generations can hardly be their equals. I wonder if they should be called revolutionaries or if our troublous times have given birth to the thoughts and the men.

Looking back on the past 40 years since liberation, we feel great progress has been made. This does not refer to the economy or politics. My feeling is that people have changed more fundamentally

and the atmosphere has altered. A great leap in history is not easy to take. It is achieved in the process of learning and accumulating lessons one by one through bitter experiences. Because the people had known the tradition of long civil government even under the circumstances in which anti-communism was rampant and nearly one million troops were maintained, they little thought that they would some day see the establishment of despotic rule of the military as today. The Chon Du Hwan clique are racking their brains how to get military rule into all parts of the country and, further, how to infiltrate graduates of the Military Academy and those back from studies in the United States into the universities. But this brought about the rejection of the rule by the military and aroused realistic criticism against America. It also awakened a desire to search for the homogeneity of the divided nation. For this, the old frame of anti-communism should be cast aside, and thus loomed grave doubt about the present establishment itself in the minds of the people. The people cherish an ardent desire for reunification and peace, and take up the stance against outside forces and power. They are ready to sacrifice anything in this cause. If this is suppressed by the military power, a reaction will set in against it and, as a result, the latter period of the present century may become an era of bloody revolution. Looking out far ahead in this perspective, Kim Dae Jung must have plunged into the maelstrom of the time, I should say.

According to the foreign news reports, he said at the press interview before leaving the United States, "Prolonged dictatorship, the corruption of the government, economic and social scandals and the strong impression that the US and Japan are supporting the dictatorship inflamed part of our people, the young men and women in particular." He then added that he would return home to prevent "polarization between the dictatorship of the military on the one hand and the radicals on the other" and encourage the nonviolent struggle like that of Gandhi and Martin Luther King. His determination and courage aroused a wave of welcome at home. His return home, it was said, was a resolute step to infuse courage and hope into the nation and the most timely decision. First of all, on January 18, Ham Sok Hon, Kim Jae Jun, Li Byong Rin, Hong Nam Sun, Li Tae Yong and other elders made public a meaningful statement in the form of a talk with a heading, "On the Occasion of Kim Dae Jung's Homecoming." It said:

"We welcome Kim Dae Jung home. We think highly of his

contribution to the building of a democratic Korea. We are glad that he has put an end to his exile in North America and is coming back home.

"The homeland to which he is coming back is not yet quiet but is fraught with a crisis. We, therefore, wish that both the people who welcome him and Kim Dae Jung himself after coming back will be more prudent so that they may contribute without a hitch to the historical process of building a democratic Korea. We earnestly wish that the authorities, too, will sincerely use prudence in view of the fundamental spirit of democratic politics."

On January 28, the Arrested Men's Association of Kwangju pointed out in a statement entitled "In Welcome of Kim Dae Jung's Return Home":

"In the national misfortunes of May 17 and 18 Kim Dae Jung and we rowed in one boat and shared the historical pains with each other. We shared his sufferings from the standpoint of comradeship when he was forced to leave the country by others' will. The political reality of this country as dark as night has further stimulated the intense desire for democratization and is craving for the emergence of a leader who will show the right path of democracy. We sincerely hope that with his return home as an occasion all forces that seek for the democratization of the country will band together."

This statement called for the "ruling circles" to take "prudent and wise measures." The statement of the National Congress for the Restoration of Democracy in South Korea and Promotion of Unification and the Council of the Popular Movement for Democracy headlined "A Hearty Welcome to Mr. Kim Dae Jung's Homecoming" was sharper toned.

It said:

"Mr. Kim Dae Jung who has been in three-year-long exile in the United States, a far-off foreign land, returns home on the coming 8th of February. Today the nationwide democratization movement opposed to the present ruling forces that seized power by mercilessly stamping out the burning desire of the whole nation for democratization manifested in the uprising of the Kwangju citizens, is aflame like a column of fire and the nation has entered a phase of grave danger due to the interests of the neighbouring countries surrounding the Korean peninsula. The 'National Congress for the Restoration of Democracy in South Korea and Promotion of Unification' and the 'Council of the Popular Movement for Democ-

racy' greet Mr. Kim Dae Jung who is returning home at this juncture with warm love and infinite encouragement. We guess that his homecoming this time will be the first step on the thorny path which will be more painful than the life of exile.

"Since the time when he received support from the greater part of the people under Pak Jung Hi's military dictatorship, his life has been checkered with exile, abduction, house arrest, imprisonment, and death sentence. His distressful life has represented the bitter struggle of this nation and this people. Therefore, should the present regime take an unwarrantable step against him or suppress him, it is at once nothing but suppression and challenge against the whole nation that aspires after democracy."

The return home of Kim Dae Jung was really a great event. It can be said that it awakened the people's consciousness from slumber. When the homecoming of Kim Dae Jung was mentioned at a joint speech meeting in the election campaign, the audience responded with loud cheers and applause. All who belonged to the opposition emphasized their special ties with Kim Dae Jung or Kim Yong Sam. So the candidates from the ruling party had to keep silent about Kim Dae Jung. When it was informed that Kim Dae Jung was supporting the New Korea Democratic Party which calls itself a true opposition party, candidates from other opposition parties said it could not be so and he himself was personally on closer terms with Kim Dae Jung. It looked like a scramble for Kim Dae Jung. They made childish remarks, "I talked with him over the telephone," or "He personally notified me of his homecoming." They contended with one another for their personal nearness with Kim Dae Jung. This showed Kim Dae Jung was the central figure in the hearts of the masses who aspire after democracy'and repudiate the Chon Du Hwan clique.

While Kim Dae Jung was afflicted with sufferings on account of the Chon Du Hwan clique over the past four and a half years, how many times people and mass media within and without said in unison with this clique that he was a man of the past and passed out of the south Korean people's minds! That was not merely because they failed to understand the south Korean people. They said so deliberately to approve and support the violent rule of the Chon Du Hwan clique. The resentments of the south Korean people are such that they will not evaporate with the passage of time. Rather, they will congeal and some day find a vent to settle accounts. Kim Dae Jung's grudge is identical with that of the masses in south Korea.

Kim Dae Jung's homecoming was timely. He did not yield at all to the brute force of the Chon Du Hwan clique but displayed courage, dignity and discretion. He was really tactful. The New Korea Democratic Party decided to identify itself with Kim Dae Jung and welcome him home in a body. Its welcome committees were organized at 90 places on a county level throughout the country. Then it distributed handbills, which read:

"Mr. Kim Dae Jung is returning home from the United States. He is due to land at Kimpo airport at 11:30 a.m. on February 8. It is an act of conscience for democratization, national reunification and human rights. Let us meet Mr. Kim Dae Jung at Kimpo airport!"

"Mr. Kim Dae Jung is coming home at last. Let us all turn out to welcome our democratic leader warmly! To Kimpo airport at 11:30 a.m. on February 8."

Tens of thousands of riot policemen were mobilized. Nobody could approach the airport, they were stopped by rows of riot police and tear shells one kilometre before the airfield. It was difficult to block all roads leading to the airport. If citizens clashed with riot police at so many places, it might develop into a large demonstration embracing the whole of Seoul. Fearful of this, the police allowed citizens to come near Kimpo in the suburbs of Seoul and completely blocked their way there. That day the roads leading to Kimpo and to Kim Dae Jung's house were crowded with so many people. More than 300,000 people turned out. Some put the figure at a million. In fact, the students and other young people who were around the spot near Kimpo where there was a collision with riot police and tear shells were fired, numbered 50,000. It is said that nearly 100 persons were walked off.

The Chon Du Hwan clique committed a rash act at the airport to incur an international criticism perhaps because they were alarmed at the turnout of so many people and so great an agitation. It is said that Kim Dae Jung and his wife and 23 persons including two US Congressmen who accompanied him for his safe journey home and many pressmen were kept to wait for 20 minutes in the plane after its landing. Then when the couple of Kim Dae Jung and some ten persons left the plane, with the pressmen kept behind in it, and moved on some 15 metres from it, over ten toughs suddenly rushed out from behind and tore away Mr. and Mrs. Kim Dae Jung from other people. Now another group of ten-odd ruffians sprang out from before and shoved the couple alone into the lift. In front were

riot police lined up in four rows, who thrust the rest of the people away to one side. The pressmen who were following were pushed away towards the escalator.

Separated from all the other people in this way, Kim Dae Jung and his wife were escorted to their house in Mapo in a squad car. In this confusion, many people were outraged and two of them sent to hospital. Even Mrs. Patricia Delian who had served as Under Secretary of State for Human Rights in the Carter Administration had pains all over the body and attended hospital. The Americans who came together said that south Korea was the only country in the world where an important personality from America was treated like this. Seeing that violence was used at a time when it was feared that a serious international trouble might develop, it could be readily imagined what outrages the Chon Du Hwan clique were committing against their own people, the Americans added.

Kim Dae Jung's homecoming was briefly reported in newspapers without a photograph, though on the front page. Needless to say, it was not telecast. Although it takes a bit long time, I would like to quote the full text of a statement entitled "May he be the brilliant beacon for the restoration of democracy—on the occasion of the homecoming of Kim Dae Jung, the opposition political leader" made by the General Students Association of Seoul University on February 8 as an expression of young people's feelings about his return to the homeland which is no more than a tundra.

"Arrested at the time of the May 17, 1980, military coup and condemned to death, Kim Dae Jung was leading prison life when on December 23, 1982 he was banished to the United States by the Chon Du Hwan regime. He was thus compelled to take political asylum. But on February 8, 1985, after going through many twists and turns, he came back to the homeland he yearned for so much.

"The General Students Association of Seoul University warmly welcomes Kim Dae Jung who has come back with an indomitable will to herald spring of democracy to this frozen wintry Republic at this moment when plutocracy, degeneration and illegal election are rank—as means of the Chon Du Hwan regime's intrigues for a long-term dictatorship—on this land where the traces of bitter setback of 1980 and the bloody resistance of Kwangju are still vivid. At the same time, it ardently desires his homecoming to pave the way for sowing seeds of regeneration and hope on this land of ignominy downtrodden by jackboots.

"One million youth and students and all other south Korean people clearly remember the fighting will of Kim Dae Jung for democratization who spearheaded the struggle for it despite countless difficulties and persecutions under the Yusin system, and know well that even while in exile in the United States, he has worked for the democratization of south Korea not only among the Korean residents but also in the US political circles through the democratic circular 'Acting Conscience,' many press interviews and speeches at mass meetings.

"It is obvious that his homecoming this time is an outcome of his strong fighting will for democratization. But it should not be overlooked that this reflects double factors—one being the attitude of the United States which was obliged to take such a step in view of the mounting ardour for democracy of the progressive forces in south Korea including the students, workers, intellectuals, religious men and common democratic citizens, their increasing criticism of the Chon Du Hwan regime and their discontent with the United States, and the other being the deceptive gesture for reconciliation of the Chon Du Hwan regime which was in a scrape due to its lack of legitimacy and justice and its internal discords.

"At the present moment when they are welcoming Kim Dae Jung home, all the south Korean people should modestly pay attention to the following facts for the sake of democratization:

"First of all, the Chon Du Hwan regime should drop their mean plot for long-term dictatorship and their rosy fantasy about the 2000's. To say nothing of taking practical measures for democracy such as the lifting of all restrictions on the political activities of Kim Dae Jung and other democrats, their rehabilitation, revision of the basic law of the press, law of assembly and demonstration and various evil laws on labour, and provision of the right to live for the masses, they should take the responsibility for the Kwangju incident and resign as a matter of course.

"Next, all the honest-minded democratic forces including the students should strengthen the bonds of the democratic ranks in unity this time. Strong countermeasures should be taken against the widespread talk about a bicameral system for long-term office, Chon Du Hwan's scheme to visit America in April, plutocracy, degeneration and illegal election, and the plot for constitutional amendment. At the same time, sincere answers should be given to questions of democracy and masses such as of guaranteeing the natural

right of the workers, peasants and other people.

"Reflecting on the bitter setback of the struggle for democratization in 1980, Kim Dae Jung should be the standard-bearer in the joint struggle for democratization including the democratic constitutional amendment movement for direct presidential election and the movement for guaranteeing the masses' right to live.

"We hope that his homecoming will kindle a bright beacon for the recovery of democracy. We hope that it will serve as a springboard in a new struggle for democratization."

VICTORY IN THE ELECTION HELD IN A FROZEN LAND

The recent election held in the cold winter was an election in which the authorities ran amuck under the "strict cordon" of the army and police. It was literally an election in a frozen land.

It was not before the 23rd of January that a formal notice was given out stating that an election to the National Assembly would be held on February 12. Candidates should register within five days, so that they could start an election campaign. It was permitted to put up a limited number of wall newspapers and distribute handbills. But candidates were not allowed to make speeches to air their political views. They could only speak at joint oral meetings where all the candidates should attend, which would be permitted twice in districts or cities with a population of less than 300,000 and three times where the population was greater. The time allotted to each speaker is 30 minutes. In local areas the speakers were often obstructed by cutting even this allotted time or switching off the microphone. The speech meeting had to be closed by February 8 in major cities and in almost all regions of the country. This was followed by secret manoeuvres for securing more votes. The opposition parties were kept under control on the pretext of maintaining public peace while the ruling party, the Democratic Justice Party, not.

During the poll, open acts of irregularity were committed in the provinces where threat and suppression were employed by thugs. Heads of townships or sub-counties, police chiefs, heads of agricultural cooperatives and sections and neighbourhood units, the lowest administrative units, interfered actively. They got fairly large

rewards. Details are spared here, but even newspapers of these days like "Tonga Ilbo" of February 1 lamented over such degenerate practices in the election. Under the headline "Officials' business trips—They go out to secure more votes," a newspaper article cites several instances. Its subtitles alone are enough to give an idea of what took place during the recent election in all parts of the country: "At every meeting the head of township or sub-county acts as guide for the special candidate," "Guidance in farming in the rigorous winter," "Township offices are empty almost always," "That the township head should act so infamously!" "County headmen go out to villages and make a gift of socks and stockings," "Mails of opposition parties are taking a nap in post offices," "Police substation head in uniform boosts the ruling party," and "Township officials, we leave everything in your hands." Thus, people come to the polls in files to cast their vote for the candidates of the government party. If anyone stays away from the poll, his vote is cast by someone else for the ruling party. Even newspapers of these days were able to report one or two fragmentary facts, though vaguely.

Will the day really come when all such sins are accused? These examples are only a few out of many which are going on in all parts of the country. A woman writer related an episode in a mild yet self-scorning tone under the heading "Election, benevolence and housewife" ("Tonga Ilbo" of February 2):

"A lady I had met occasionally in the lift said with a smile on her face all of a sudden that she had something to present me as a gift and politely asked for my vote for them."

"Well, then, you ought to give them your vote for conscience' sake."

"Oh, my! For conscience' sake, indeed! Other people have been accommodated at a hot spring in reward, they say."

"Oh, that's right. I've heard there are even people who have been sent to Cheju Island for sight-seeing."

The TVs which are all run by the government felt at ease drawing up out-and-out pro-government-party programmes. Almost every day Chon Du Hwan appeared on the nine o'clock TV news and so was called a "nine-o'clock talent." In the TV programme "District Life," their political achievements were praised by themselves every day. Talking about "a fair election campaign" in the name of election enlightenment, they produced childish farces with titles "Who are our friends?" "The old politicians should not be elected," so

as to decry the opposition candidates. But at present this country has neither a law nor a judicial officer capable of checking such an election. Because the police takes the lead in committing irregularities. At the most, courageous newspaper reporters lament in an undertone.

There is absentee voting. This means voting by mail by those who are away from their places of residence on the election day. Even in Seoul this voting often played the decisive role. Because it was utterly inclined towards the ruling party. In particular, the army men were bound to vote for the ruling party candidates since they were supposed to put a mark under the name of the candidate they were voting for and show it to their commanding officers.

It is needless to say that this election was an unfair election, a money-bribed, degenerate election and a government-manipulated election. In the election of 1980 immediately after the military coup every one gave it up in despair. But this time the New Korea Democratic Party fought under the slogan of overthrow of the dictatorship and recovery of democracy. So, the people sought to participate in the struggle. This was why the government authorities were more desperate to take measures for election.

Because the battle was fought under such restraint and suppression the New Korea Democratic Party's oratorical outbursts in urban communities were fierce as if a large mass of steam was blown off through a small hole. Time was limited to 30 minutes at that. Therefore, they could not afford to set forth their political views lengthily. The heated speeches of the candidates of the opposition parties, the New Korea Democratic Party in particular, could be boiled down to these three arguments: "The atrocities of the Kwangju incident cannot be forgiven. The truth must be investigated," "Down with the dictatorship of the military!" "I'll fight in support of the line of Kim Dae Jung and Kim Yong Sam." All that the Democratic Justice Party candidates could do was counter the opposition's attack on the military politics by saying "The encyclopaedia shows that there are more than 50 Presidents in the world who are ex-soldiers" and "More than half of the US and British Congressmen have come from among the military officers." The Democratic Justice Party did so much as prepare model answers and distribute them to its candidates so that they might be able to retort to the attack, "Overthrow the dictatorship" by saying "You can cry for overthrowing the dictatorship and so this is democracy."

Because time was limited to 30 minutes, speeches were no more than an attack with shouts of slogans. Because of so many restraints, official interference and repression, the election campaigns could go no farther than poor sentimental disputes. Nevertheless, the people gathered for the joint speech meetings and the scenes were literally a sea of human beings. In such conditions the ruling party mobilized a bribed mob for hand-clapping.

The election administration committee prohibited the use of such words as "Down with dictatorship" and "Recovery of democracy," and even accused those who uttered them. The Ministry of Justice announced that it was secretly searching for 250 offenders against the election laws and threatened that it gave the police strict orders to disclose them. It was a foregone conclusion that the unlucky scapegoats would only be people belonging to the opposition. Trouble arose in vote counting, too. There were ballot boxes with no name of *dong* (unit of residential area) or seal. One ballot for the ruling party was put on top of 99 ballots for the opposition parties, and this roll of 100 ballots was put down to the ruling party's account. The fraud was discovered and aroused a commotion. This sort of tricks hardly worked in Seoul where the New Korea Democratic Party won a landslide. But in the provinces such crooked practices were openly made in ballot counting, but no charge could be brought against them because fist law prevails there. This was why the Democratic Justice Party won a sweeping victory even in the countryside of Cholla Provinces.

The election law itself is designed to endorse the dishonest doings of those in power. A third of the ballot counters are administrative officials, and the rest are staffs of educational and judicial establishments. The ballot-counting witnesses are limited to 12 persons. They attend the counting in two shifts, six in each shift. The candidate can name only one witness at a time, but it is not an easy job for one person to protect all the ballots cast for the opposition candidate. And in the provinces this witness often gives in to the outrages of the authorities. Sometimes he evaporates.

The legally authorized amount of money for election campaign expenses was said to be 70,560,000 *won* on an average. In general it was said that "Ten wins and five fails." Newspapers, too, wrote editorially that "Five wins and three fails." This means that if one spends ten *ok* (one billion) or five *ok* (0.5 billion) *won*, he wins an election, and if he spends five or three *ok won*, he fails. In such

circumstances how could the New Korea Democratic Party which was founded on January 18 this year bear to fight on? Moreover, its principal members had been banned from political activities for four years and it was only 49 days since the ban had been lifted.

The election system itself was such that one member of the Democratic Justice Party, the ruling party, could be elected at each of 92 electoral districts. For the other one seat many opposition parties compete with one another. And the ruling party which is the majority party holds two-thirds of the seats of 92 proportional representatives and the rest are distributed among the opposition parties. The election system is so devised as to ensure eternal victory for the government party and to make the opposition parties compete among themselves. What is worse, the opposition party assemblymen elected four years ago are thoroughly government-patronized and have always glorified the democratic politics based on the cooperation with the government party. In fact, the army men of the government party decided on such opposition party candidates and their election. So either voting or ballot counting in the election held by the Chon Du Hwan clique was devoid of meaning, and was simply decided by their arbitrary announcement. Despite such meaningless election, the people's enthusiasm was sky-high with the appearance of the New Korea Democratic Party. This was due to the correct strategy of the struggle for democracy to raise the people's consciousness, rather than winning the election itself, by boldly exposing during the election what even the mass media had kept silent about and had not reported to the people. The people had to be thoroughly convinced that this election was illegal and must be wholly repudiated. This opportunity had to be seized on to expose openly the true colours of the state power in the hands of Chon Du Hwan, the corruptness of military power, and the depravity of the Democratic Justice Party, and the impending doom of those in power. In this sense this election served as an important stepping-stone to democratization. When a few parliamentary seats are won, an open struggle for democratization will be waged within the National Assembly, if only nominal, and the democratic forces outside will, in response to it, present a joint front with it. This was the strategy of the champions of the democratization movement, and the young people in particular. They devoted all their energies to this struggle. They achieved a thrilling success. And in so short a period as one week the whole country was wrapped in excitement and

this completely changed the atmosphere. The Chon Du Hwan clique was hell-bent to prevent it from spreading to the provinces.

On January 17 a meeting was held in Andong, North Kyongsang Province, to form the regional organization of the New Korea Democratic Party. The meeting place was so much crowded that there were even casualties. Then, the Chon Du Hwan clique spread a false rumour and even reported that this confusion was caused because people gathered there attracted not by the moves and voices of the dissidents but by the announcement that a jumper would be presented to everyone who attended the meeting. In the provinces the opposition parties found it impossible even to obtain a meeting place. The accident in Andong was a tragedy which came about because the meeting hall with 600 seats was packed with 2,000 people.

It was a victory won through such difficulties that the New Korea Democratic Party became the dominant opposition party under the slogan "Down with the dictatorship." The Democratic Justice Party won 87 seats and, with the resultant acquisition of 61 seats of proportional representatives from the national constituencies, came to occupy 148 seats. The New Korea Democratic Party won 50 seats and, adding 17 from the national constituencies, held 67 seats. With the conflux of the so-called legal struggle in the National Assembly and the nationwide nonparliamentary struggle for democratization, a vigorous struggle will be developed this spring. A few joint speech meetings held in only one week and, moreover, the short speeches limited to 30 minutes could not exhaust the energies of the people, and these energies will never quietly fall off into inactivity. They will certainly spurt out for another victory.

The victory of the New Korea Democratic Party was a victory of the democratic forces and, in particular, of the youth and students. It was, in fact, another revolutionary victory after the victory of the students in the April 19, 1960, revolution.

After a prolonged struggle they won a little freedom within campuses. With it as a stepping-stone they expanded their front in and outside the campuses. The students' alliance made great progress. During the election, too, they waged a tireless struggle in and outside the campuses and some were put into jail. They even called upon the students who came to take the entrance examination to join their struggle. On January 19 more than 2,000 students of 15

universities in Seoul got together at Yonse University and held a joint meeting of students to bring about a democratic general election and staged demonstrations by guerrilla tactics in the city. This guerrilla-type struggle has already got out of the reach of police intelligence networks. It is a guerrilla warfare not in the jungle but in the city. They are now capable of mobilizing thousands of students even in the winter vacation. This is something unprecedented. They not only have thoughts and strategy, but also work out elaborate tactics. The recent victory was their tactical victory. Therefore, newspapers reported, "New Democratic Party has won a landslide in big cities and become the leading opposition party," and "The gust of the New Democratic Party—a surprise to the whole country." In the meantime, it was talked in whisper everywhere about the great power produced by the students' participation in politics. To think that there is so clear and limpid water welling up in this hopeless hell of a land!

They organized the Federation of Students for Democratic General Election and concentrated attack on the central figures in power crying, "We are dead set against Chon Du Hwan, Pak Jun Byong, Kwon Jong Dal, Ro Tae U, Chong Ho Yong and other military hooligans of that ilk, the culprits of the Kwangju massacre, taking part in politics!" and "Not even one ballot to the Democratic Justice Party polluted with injustice and corruption!" It was a general attack closing in step by step from all directions. On November 26 last year, a Christians' congress for democracy was held, and it was a skirmish prior to the election. The congress set it as its "line of action" to put an end to the military rule, to achieve local autonomy, to repeal all evil laws of the military dictatorship, and to crush the Democratic Justice Party's scheme for reassumption of power. Their appeal "Met out justice to the military regime in the name of the people!" was obviously a manifestation of their determination with regard to the general election.

The union of people was gradually formed. In the beginning of January the Catholic side began to stir. On January 14, the Catholic Church sent, in the name of all those attending the national conference of pastors for justice and peace and the regular national meeting of pastors, "Pastoral Epistles to Fellow Christians" to its believers throughout the country. It began by saying, "Greeting the New Year 1985, we should make an important determination. In February 1985 a general election to the National Assembly is to be held to find out what confidence the people put in the rule of the

Fifth Republic over the past four years." Then it pointed out, "As is known through the Kwangju incident, the Fifth Republic made its start by employing violence against the people who are the sovereign." Further, it went on to say, "We should reflect on how much the Democratic Justice Party, the ruling party, has spoken for the democratic will of the people until today." It then appealed, "In the coming general election we should demonstrate that sovereignty rests with the people."

In the latter half of January when the general election was in the offing, young Christians went on a hunger strike in protest against the attempt to suppress their campaign by force. And also the parents of the students who had been imprisoned on account of the sit-in struggle they had waged in the building of the Democratic Justice Party went on a hunger strike. They protested against the outrageous measures of the government which imprisoned and expelled from universities those students who had contended that the government ought to seek for a dialogue with the democratic forces in the south at least since it even goes in for a north-south talk. All these activities merged into a large stream.

On January 25 "an informal talk of the conference of women's representatives to correctly exercise the right of voting" was held at the auditorium of the Young Women's Christian Association building in Seoul, where "a declaration of woman electorate on the occasion of the general election to the 12th National Assembly" was adopted. Represented in it were 78 organizations such as the Young Women's Christian Association, the Korean Legal Information Centre on Family Affairs and the Women's Catholic Association. It was an unprecedented meeting attended by the Korean Central Beauty Artists' Association, the Women Pharmacists Society of the Korean Pharmacists' Association, the Central Federation of New Village Women, the Korean Nurses' Association, the Korean Women Journalist Club, the Korean Women Doctors' Society, in addition to women's Christian organizations. Demanding the guaranteeing of fair election and revision of election system, the declaration stated as follows in its first part entitled "Our Stand."

1. We criticize the current election law which precludes us from electing our President by ourselves and offers decided advantage to the government party to command a large majority by establishing regional sections in disregard of the sizes of population, the system of electing two deputies from one electoral district and the system of

national constituencies accounting for one-third of the total seats, and the 12th general election in which power and money hold sway.

2. The Fifth Republic made its start by giving 12-point commitments in favour of women including the revision of family law. But it has not only failed to settle the problem of low wages of women workers and correct the agricultural policy which saddles the peasant women with heavy burdens but also allowed those who exercise public power to commit outrages and shameful acts against girl students for the mere reason that they cried for democracy. Further, it made no scruple of ignoring the ardent desire of the majority of the people, to say nothing of the women, for the revision of family law. In such actual conditions, we denounce it that the commitments were a pack of lies aimed to fool us.

3. At this moment when we are striving to elevate the position of the Republic of Korea in the international community, enduring the hardships resulting from the enormous swelling of foreign debts, this country was shamefully dispraised in the report of the United Nations concerning the status of women who represent the democratic forces of a nation. We deplore this state of affairs.

Thus, the voices of united women sounded loudly. It should be said this was an epoch-making event. This is also a new bud unknown in the past. Its future development should be watched with keen interests.

The National Congress for the Restoration of Democracy in South Korea and Promotion of Unification, too, went on fighting. Recalling the words of Wickham, commander of the US armed forces in south Korea four years ago, who said that the south Korean people would follow any leader obediently, they continued to call upon the people to pound on the "Chon Du Hwan military dictatorship and the Democratic Justice Party" with an iron hammer. And on February 6, their indignation exploded against Chon Du Hwan's plan to visit the United States which was published on the 4th of the same month. The Reagan Administration, as it supported the Chon Du Hwan clique in the Kwangju incident of 1980, tries to help them again in the thick of this tough-going election. So, a statement was issued under the heading, "We denounce the policy toward south Korea of the US Administration which bolsters the Chon Du Hwan military dictatorship— On the occasion of US President Reagan's invitation of Chon Du Hwan."

The New Korea Democratic Party secured an amazing victory by

continuing with this fierce struggle during the election campaigns. Li Chol who had left Seoul University halfway was elected with the highest polling score in Songbuk District of Seoul, although he had simply fought to inform the people of the crimes of the Chon Du Hwan clique, without caring about his election. He had been sentenced to death at an emergency courtmartial in 1974 on charges of involvement in the case of the Federation of Democratic Youth and Students. He had entered on the political arena according to the advice of young people. This was a link in the chain of their strategy. But in only 15 days, he won this victory. Politicians, youth and students, religious people and all were united as one. It was a splendid fight of the alliance of people. And this alliance came about through the medium of young people.

In this way young champions of the democratization movement were awakened to their political capacity. What influence will it exert on the south Korean history in future? Surely this is an unforeseen event, an advance and a change which burgeoned in the midst of struggle. Once the students advocated the unadulterated nature of their movement and drew a dividing line between themselves and the opposition parties, averse to be confused with them. They wanted to safeguard their pride. But that may be called a time when they were romanticists. Now they do not evade the real political arena. They have become realists, we may say. They consider it necessary to employ every means available to alter the reality. They may be paving the way for an age new even to the world, which is different from the April 19 student movement. The reality can be changed. They have a firm belief that victory is surely in store for them. I wonder how it will develop in the future.

It must be the conviction kept in the depths of the hearts of this people who have witnessed the fall of power in the long process of history. This is where the south Korean Christianity today, as Tonghak of the past, discovered its path of action. Wicked power on the earth will be destroyed and judged and the kingdom of Heaven will come, they believe. But still now the greater part of the Christianity in south Korea appears to look upon the real politics as something evil and draw a line of distinction from it to defend their purity. Will the day really come when Christianity, like the student movement in south Korea, sheds such romanticism? A clear emotion and a passionate sense of mission are not all that the students have. It must not be overlooked that they now have

knowledge, thoughts and fine strategy and tactics acquired in their underground university, plus the moral posture and indomitable power of action. These have been nurtured through endless hardships. Will south Korean Christianity ever attain such a height? Will they continue interminably to recite the old lines: "White heron, don't go close to where crows are fighting. The furious crows may envy and soil your white colour."

ON THE EVE OF DEMOCRATIZATION

March 18, 1985

POWER, AN OBJECT OF RIDICULE

Why did the military choose the 12th of February for the polling day? Needless to say, it was a decision to take advantage of the cold weather when the temperature falls below zero and the winter vacation of students. Then, why not the 13th or 14th of February? Rumours have it that they decided on the 12th of February according to the fortuneteller's advice. After the death of Pak Jung Hi, Chon Du Hwan took the helm of power by the December 12 military coup. So, to the Chon Du Hwan clique the figures one and two meant good luck. This was how February 12 was chosen. Nevertheless, they suffered a crushing defeat. The people, therefore, are jeering at them by saying the fortuneteller should be sentenced to death. In this sense, a rumour is spread that Chon Du Hwan is an ass, and no wonder.

Strategically, too, the democratic forces have grown notably. In the early stage of the election campaign they advocated a boycott of the election, and then suddenly, when the polling day came nearer, united the voices of the democratic forces to call for participation in the election. Now they decided to expose before the people the evil doings of those in power, facts which had not been reported at all by the newspapers. This was why they suddenly changed their strategy and tactics, although they had called attention to boycotting the election at first. This produced results amazing even to the New Democratic Party itself, to say nothing of the authorities. Perhaps the United States, too, was surprised.

The strategy was that putting up the slogan "Down with military administration!" during the election, they would vehemently attack 15 army men, the pivot of the present state power, and put them out of countenance before the people. The Kwangju incident of 1980 would provide them with important material. The ruling Democratic Justice Party was at great pains to dodge the attack. The government

party defended Chon Du Hwan by saying that he had had nothing to do with the incident and that the military was to blame for it. The former Army Security Commander Pak Jun Byong who as 20th Division commander had undertaken the offensive operations against Kwangju shirked his responsibility by employing the subterfuge that he advanced into Kwangju after many people had already been killed.

One of the New Democratic Party's election commitments was precisely to bring the truth of the Kwangju incident into the light of day. And the Kwangju incident will also strangle the neck of the Chon Du Hwan regime.

Under such circumstances the powers that be are at a loss what to do. Ro Tae U, representative member of the ruling Democratic Justice Party and the commonly acknowledged No. 2 man, frankly admitted, "I perceived a gap between the party and the people." Nevertheless, he still prattled that the gap came from a "lack of information activities." While people are indignant at such remarks, they sneer at this foolish man and his ilk. Appearing on TV, Ro Tae U would show a "generous attitude" saying "Let's have a talk with open hearts." But he fails to say what he wants to talk about and with whom. It is like chanting a spell. It is really ridiculous.

Newspapers are reiterating that "The people are no longer the people of the past." The bigwigs in power, however, have nothing new to advance. This is a tragedy.

A so-called overall Cabinet reshuffle was announced immediately after the election, on February 18. Six army men took the posts of Cabinet ministers again. Presidential Security Chief Chang Se Dong was appointed Chief of the Security Planning Board; the Security Planning Board Chief, Prime Minister; and its Vice-Chief, Minister of the Department of General Affairs. New Security Planning Board Chief Chang Se Dong had served directly under Chon Du Hwan in the army. He is a 16th-term graduate of the Military Academy. So it is expected that the Security Planning Board will be strengthened again in future. The director of the Korean Broadcasting Station was appointed Minister of Culture and Information. He was the author of the childish programme of farces to cast mud at New Democratic Party candidates in the recent election campaign, accusing them of being anti-national. This programme is said to have produced a boomerang effect in the election. Nonetheless, because he is trusted by Chon Du Hwan, his

services were appreciated and he was promoted.

This reshuffle showed that Chon Du Hwan did anything but reflect on the lessons of the election. He was only intent on consolidating his ground in face of the attack from the people. Chon Gyong Hwan who had been indulging in frauds was appointed chairman of the Central Council of the "New Village Movement" which is advertised as a national movement. He is a younger brother of Chon Du Hwan. He had been its general secretary and stayed behind inconspicuously, but this time he sprang out to the fore.

On February 23 Ro Tae U took office as representative member of the Democratic Justice Party. He, like Chon Du Hwan, is the 11th-term graduate of the Military Academy and staged the military coup together with him. It used to be said generally that Chon Du Hwan would stop at nothing to save his remaining days by handing over the helm of state power to Ro Tae U in case he finds it impossible any longer to maintain it by himself. That this Ro Tae U made his appearance on the scene so early shows how much the Chon Du Hwan clique was surprised at the results of the recent election. Their idea is that by presenting Ro Tae U, their trump card, earlier than planned, they intend to save the Chon Du Hwan's ruling system at all costs. It is said that Ro Tae U has better features and is more presentable than Chon Du Hwan, but that he is more ambitious and ferocious.

All members of the Chon Du Hwan clique have appeared on the surface and are making every effort to rescue their power from the impending ruin. The colonel-level army men who had so far remained in the background as advisors of the military threw off their masks and joined the Democratic Justice Party. Most of them stood for the election representing the national constituencies and were returned to the National Assembly. So, of the 148 National Assemblymen from the Democratic Justice Party, 28 were army men. They are trying in this way to guard their power by ensuring the military men's leading role in the President's entourage and in the Cabinet, political party and the National Assembly.

But the more the military men flounder, the nearer the catastrophe of the Chon Du Hwan clique will come. And the people are amused at the sight of their desperate struggle. Newspapers reported about the press interviews given by Ro Tae U, the newly elected representative of the Democratic Justice Party, and President of the New Democratic Party Li Min U. They presented a sharp contrast

between the position of the doomed and that of the new, up-and-coming force. Ro Tae U said that a dialogue with the New Democratic Party would clear away this party's misunderstanding and that its claim and struggle for democratization arose from the misunderstanding. He added that a change of government could be realized through personnel replacement by the ruling party. He stated that he had no idea of becoming a president. Everything he said was a vindication. He simply equivocated by playing with words such as: "I think if we go about things coping with what is possible first just as water finds its own level, everything will be settled reasonably."

Contrary to him, President of the New Democratic Party Li Min U showed new prospects of national salvation. The Cabinet reshuffle is an utter nonsense which has nothing to do with the question of gaining the people's confidence. "Please be afraid of the people and face up to difficult questions with the thought that the people are not the object but the master of government," he said. It is no matter whether the President is replaced or not. The point is whether there is a system which grants the people the right to choose him or not. An electoral college of 5,000 people or more can be easily manipulated with the money of one big business. For democratization there can be neither a tough nor a moderate line. "We will only devote ourselves faithfully to our ends," he stressed. Then he pointed out that democratization is a desire expressed strongly by the people during the recent election in spite of such a harsh repression.

Their stands formed a striking contrast between good and evil. As for the outworn and doomed forces of the military, the people have an indelible impression that they are violent, corrupt and inefficient, only oppress the people, suppress the press, recklessly shout for anti-communism and security, act against the nation, and put no confidence at all in the people. The new democratic forces are nonviolent and seek to mobilize the great potentialities of the people for justice. To this end, they claim independence for the press and strive for an open society and a system of cooperation. Behind this lies confidence in the human beings, nation and masses. They want to treat the north as openly as possible from a national standpoint. The gap between these contradictory views will further widen. The Chon Du Hwan clique have no resource to correct their views. Therefore, they only strengthen their posture and system, unable to cope with the new situation. By bringing Ro Tae U and many other army men onto the scene in different spheres through the Cabinet

reshuffle, they revealed their reactionary posture.

Various recent happenings exposed the Chon Du Hwan clique's confusion and bewilderment in the eyes of the people. One of them was the interview given by President Li Min U of the New Democratic Party to the Japanese newspaper "Sankei Shimbun." The content of the report carried in the paper on March 6 is not known, but it is said that in the interview President Li stated that the government should put forward a "general plan of schedule for democratization" before the people by August 15, 1986, and that the 1987 election which would result in the resignation of President Chon should be conducted aboveboard by the "caretaker government" of an "transitional government." This meant that so long as Chon Du Hwan did not resign, there could be no fair election. The dispute became more heated because the Japanese paper misused the words "provisional government" for the "caretaker government."

The ruling party attacked it by saying that it was "undermining the order of constitutional government." But the New Democratic Party confirmed President Li's words as representing its claim and spurned the attack from the Democratic Justice Party by pointing out that it was the stance of the New Democratic Party already made clear during the election. So, the Democratic Justice Party chose to mention it no more, it was said.

What caused such a situation? In the past the "Sankei Shimbun" had been inclined to praise the military regime of south Korea unreservedly and speak ill of the democratic forces, and so rumours about this question kept going round even after that. The most convincing of the rumours was that the Chon Du Hwan clique had schemed to launch a general offensive by inventing this incident and trapping the New Democratic Party. But they sustained an ignominious defeat due to the public sentiments and the united voice of the New Democratic Party. In this dispute, the New Democratic Party was upright and logical, but the Democratic Justice Party failed to act coherently and its argument was inconsistent. At most it showed a nervous reaction, bringing forth a very poor argument such as "The observance of one-term office and peaceful transfer of power are commitment No. 1 of our party. If we offer to go out of office before the expiration of the term, the people will ask us, 'Can't you even persevere that long?'"

It was reported suddenly on March 5 that the workers of the Changsong industrial company in the coal-mining area of Kangwon

Province were staging a sit-down strike for four days already. The newspapers had kept silence on it by that time, but unable to leave it in the dark any more, reported that some 500 workers and their families were holding out against the police. The actual situation was not that simple, we were told. It was because this incident was nearing a solution that newspapers were able to report more or less about it on March 5.

The miners' wives took the lead in causing the dispute. At this mine, the chairman of the labour union chapter used to be elected by indirect voting. But this time the electoral college of 28 persons was expected to veto his reelection. So the chairman had quietly transferred 18 of them to other places and thereby secured his reelection. The chapter chairman, a cat's paw of the government, had always sided with the management and maltreated the workers. This was why their wives rose up. It was also connected with the fact that when in April 1980 there arose a labour dispute at the Tongwon colliery in Sabuk in the same area, a large number of workers were sacrificed. As many as 800 housewives rose and resolutely blocked the entry of workers into the mine pits. It was a new tactic. As a result, work was stopped in seven pits out of the eight. This was a struggle in a coalfield with more than 30,000 workers. After reporting it once, newspapers keep silence again. I hear that almost all demands of workers including the direct election of chapter chairman were accepted. Perhaps the authorities are afraid that the dispute might spread. There is no doubt that they fear lest the results of this victory should be known and stimulate other workers.

In the future, the labour movement will gain momentum, and give a grave challenge to the power of the Chon Du Hwan clique. At a conference of representatives held on March 2, the Federation of Korea Trade Union which had been called a government-patronized organization adopted a resolution calling for noninterference of political power in the trade unions, approval of formation of industrial unions, and freedom of political activities. They, too, seem to find it impossible to sail against the current of the times.

In the evening of March 10, 1,500 workers and students who attended the functions of the "Working People's Day" staged a demonstration and came into clash with riot police. In the Catholic Church in Sodaemun Ward, Seoul, they heard mass, saw a burlesque about a workplace and held a memorial service for the late workers who had burned themselves to death. Then, they staged a demonst-

ration, shouting slogans, "Military dictatorship, get away!" "Revise the evil labour laws," and so on.

In the commemoration exercises of the "Working People's Day" on March 10, the Korean Christian Workers' Federation formed on February 3 this year played the leading role. Its statement "On the Occasion of Labour Day of 1985" advanced the following claims:

1. The government and enterprises should introduce an 8-hour working day.
2. The government should guarantee the minimum living cost by law.
3. The government should revise the evil labour laws and guarantee the three rights of labour.
4. The government should establish a policy and system to prevent occupational diseases and industrial calamities.
5. The government should scrap the blacklists and stop police terror.
6. The Federation of Korea Trade Union should take the lead in the struggle for the rights and interests of workers.

The struggle of students for the independence of universities, too, shows a tendency of utter disregard for the power of the authorities. Rather, the authorities are dragged about hither and thither by the students. The university authorities find themselves in a dilemma between the Ministry of Education and the students. The Ministry of Education demands inserting in the regulations of student association such provisions as prohibition of political activities, establishment of a guidance committee, guidance and supervision over the spending of expenses of student association, limitation of qualifications of student delegates and the university authorities' approval of the regulations of student association. The students defied this by saying that campus autonomy is nothing but a deception and university authorities' interference affects all items. They made liberal regulations of student association on their own and passed them at the emergency general meeting of students. They hold the idea that "the student association should be formed in accordance with their independent view" and that interference by anyone is encroachment on the independence of universities. When the new Minister of Education proposed a dialogue with the students, they answered it was welcome. When the minister proposed a debate on TV the next time, the student side denounced him by saying that this was not a sincere attitude to solve the campus

problem but a trick to propagandize the stand of the authorities through TV. But if the debate was telecast from the scene, they could accept it, they replied. They demanded that in the TV debate the method of discussion should be used instead of question and answer, commercial advertisements not inserted, the chairman be a third person acceptable to both sides and the participants from the student side be chosen by the students themselves. Now the Chon Du Hwan clique was stuck for a word, and the students are sneering at them.

The Chon Du Hwan clique have no other recourse but to use violence. Still now the authorities arrest students under various pretexts in the streets. And they announced that they were keeping watch on 1,222 students in Seoul because they were "potential demonstrators."

This means they do not make an issue of their morbid system itself but think that if they keep hundreds or thousands of students under control, everything will sail smoothly.

Japan sang the praises of "a new Japan-south Korea era" with this government, or Chon Du Hwan who is attacked as the principal culprit of massacre of people. Today, a little more than a half year after that, the people who were enraged at it and ridiculed the words at that time are sending the power tottering. We wonder if the idea of absolutism that power is eternal is rooted deep in the minds of the Japanese. The south Korean people have believed that power is short-lived. Crowing about "a new Japan-south Korea era," Japan has been notably expanding its influence from that day. The power she is backing, however, will not last long but will collapse soon. It appears that Japan will adhere to such power, maybe she intends to share life and death with it from the standpoint of traditional absolutism. It will never be long before an anti-Japanese storm rages. "A new south Korea-Japan era" and "mature south Korea-Japan cooperation" will come to an end before long in the vortex of the turbulent stream of history.

VIOLENCE UPON VIOLENCE

The Hanguk Bank announced that in January this year alone the deficit of south Korea in its balance of international payments amounted to 500 million dollars. The International Group which

ranked 7th or 8th on the list of big businesses went bankrupt. To save it, 138 billion *won* was spent from the end of last year, but in vain. This big business with 39,000 employees had been penniless, excepting for bank and private loans. This was reported by newspapers, but further details are not available. The government has dragged out the adjudication of bankruptcy by now in view of the election.

March 1 was the 66th anniversary of the March First, 1919, Independence Declaration. The commemorative function planned to be held at 10:00 a.m. by six organizations including the National Congress for the Restoration of Democracy in South Korea and Promotion of Unification, the Free Practical Writers' Council and the Youth League for the Democratization Movement did not materialize due to the obstruction of riot police. Such things are not reported by newspapers. This is because the people will flare up against the authorities that prevent even a national function. There was no report about the "March First Message" issued by Kim Dae Jung and Kim Yong Sam.

In the message they demanded an end especially to "big talk, irresponsible slogans and habitual use of flowery words in all spheres of politics, economy, society and culture." And it stressed once more that no trick would split the joint struggle of the two persons. The reason, it said, is that it is the greatest desire of the people aspiring after democratization today.

The number of political offenders began to increase again. The persons confirmed by now exceed 150. Among them are 34 Koreans from Japan condemned to heavy penalties under the national security law. There was not a single conscientious offender among the 2,821 persons given amnesty on the occasion of the commemoration of the March First Movement. The same was the case with the Christmas amnesty towards the end of the year.

So, everything proves that the Chon Du Hwan clique have not changed their tyrannical posture in the least. Police terror is one of such instances. It is the police way to stun a man when they walk him off. Not content with the methodical violence they employ, they allow naked acts of violence to run rampant in the streets. Last November 22 persons were arrested on charges of involvement in the so-called case of seizure of the building of the Democratic Justice Party. They are now put on trial. The Christian paper "News of Human Rights" of February 28 reported that at the public hearing of

February 26, opened at 10:00 a.m., five students of Yonsei University spoke of the violence of the Chon Du Hwan clique. They said:

"We called at the Democratic Justice Party for a dialogue. We never employed force or seized the building, nor damaged furniture. The mass media had been giving distorted reports on the students' movement, referring to the alleged Leftist inclination of some radical students. So we wanted to remove misunderstandings through a dialogue. In addition, we advanced 14 items essential for the democratization of society in the political and economic spheres and called for the clarification of the ruling party's intentions in regard to democratization at the minimum. We adhered to the principle of nonviolence, followed all processes in an orderly manner and behaved courteously to create an atmosphere fit for a dialogue. Nevertheless, the Democratic Justice Party, while promising us to hold a dialogue and not to mobilize police, called in police immediately, and the police made a hole in the walls and shot tear shells through it, stifling the 300 students in the room of 20 *pyong* or so. They beat up and forcibly walked them off.

"While coming down from ninth to first floor, the police twisted their arms, and made them lift their hands and hang their heads, ruthlessly kicking them with jackboots and beating them with fists, heaping abuses on them. When they reached the police station, they were made to lie prone on the floor of the basement and severely beaten. Even after investigation was over, Sin Jun Yong, Sok Myong Hwan and Kim Sun Taek were called out at midnight and, blindfolded with cloth, taken to a place assumed to be a military investigation agency at a distance of 5-10 minutes' drive from the Sodaemun police station, where they were mercilessly beaten. They were made to sit down on mud floor and beaten until their soles were bruised. Moreover, they were tormented with sticks put between their upper and lower legs. Even ball pens were put between their fingers and twisted. Their true statement was ignored and they were forced to make a false statement unconditionally. Inhuman torture and beating continued."

At the hearing that day, the defence counsel made a request to summon a cadre of the Democratic Justice Party and the head of the Chongno police station as witnesses, but it was turned down. So, the counsel challenged the judges, but the prosecution replied that the part of outrages by the students would be struck off and only their

offense of intruding into the building be examined. On March 13, 1-2 years' imprisonment was suggested for seven students of Songgyungwan University, to begin with. But the counsels sent in their resignation in protest against the rejection of the examination of witnesses and the accused refused to make the final statement and declared they would go on a hunger strike. The Democratic Justice Party sent its secretary general to the judge and asked him to handle the students leniently. But many people ridicule this, saying that it is precisely the old trick of the Chon Du Hwan clique. After doing people wrong, they pretend to show leniency for appearance's sake. How satanic this is! they say. Champions of democratization are on their guard from now, supposing that after his return from his April visit to Reagan, Chon Du Hwan will desperately use brutal violence in his last-bed struggle. A journalist friend of mine added:

"In Chongju a high school student was crippled due to a traffic accident caused by a member of the Democratic Justice Party. When his mother took legal steps against the man, she was arrested. She has been detained for two months already, and yet Because she told the industrial missionary council of this case, she is handled more harshly, I hear. And when the grandmother of the student demanded the release of her daughter-in-law, she was also taken to the police station. As you see, the Democratic Justice Party think that they are free to ignore law or employ violence. We can say this is a trifling event, but it is an exact replica of the real state of affairs in south Korea under the domination of the Chon Du Hwan clique. A lawless land, that's what it is.

"The Democratic Justice Party whip Li Jong Chan elected at the constituency of Chongno and Chung Wards in the heart of Seoul, spent 6-10 billion *won* in the recent election, we hear. He bought up the votes of the poor, the inhabitants of the so-called 'Moon Village,' a slum on top of a hill, and got these votes cast for himself by proxy. Poor people are powerless before candy and whip. Unless politically awakened and organized, the masses will finally turn into minions of power. Chong Dae Chol who lost the election in the same constituency, kept the materials and evidence of election frauds, but all of them were stolen. The thief broke into his room through the window. He did not even touch valuables, they say. It was reported to the police, but was treated simply as a case of theft. As there were no valuables recorded in the list of the stolen goods, the police took a halfhearted attitude in investigation. Thus, terror is coming nearer to

us. And Li Jong Chan reported to the central election control committee that his campaign expenses were 63 million *won*. Needless to say, this is smaller than the legal top limit of 73,030,000 *won*. Aside from this, they mean to allege that he spent less than the New Democratic Party candidate Li Min U, whose campaign expenses were 70,170,000 *won*. How brazen-faced! This is the Chon Du Hwan clique's idea of law although they pay lip service to law and order. This means the strong can trample down the laws and regulations made for themselves by force with impunity. Who can put up with this fist-law situation where a thief passes himself off as a patriot and a murderer as a saint? It seems the military men think that they can justify anything if it is for victory."

He showed me the February 19 extra of the "Democratic Korea Party Bulletin." It listed the articles and documents stolen from the office of Chong Dae Chol. In the first place, the stolen goods included umbrellas, radio sets, rice-exchange cards, soaps, scarves, theatre tickets, seasoning powder, 50-briquet coupons, medical insurance papers, shampoo, washbasins, toilet articles and the like which had been distributed among the electorate by candidate Li Jong Chan. The stolen documents recorded on the list were materials on voting by proxy for candidate Li Jong Chan and on other election frauds (personal records of the accusers, their testimonies and written confirmations, the register of the names of witnesses at the polls for candidate Chong Dae Chol, the table of organization of their activities, materials on repression by abusing government authority, and other material evidences and supporting evidences of election irregularities).

The New Democratic Party is said to have acquired even written directives of the government for election frauds sent out to the provinces. When the National Assembly opens its session on April 15 as scheduled, the problem of election irregularities will unavoidably come into question. Then, a struggle will be waged to establish a democratic system under which an election can be held along democratic lines without unfair interference by those in power. The recent election campaign was so fierce that even the ruling party won only 16 per cent of the votes in the district of civil servants' apartment houses which the government side had considered a base for gaining votes. The results of ballot counting showed that the ruling party won in rural areas and the opposition in urban communities. Under the rule of the Chon Du Hwan clique the peasantry was the poorest

victim. But as the Tonghak Peasant Uprising of 1894 shows, the south Korean peasants are by no means people who are shy of resistance. Although newspapers write that this time, too, the peasants succumbed to the pressure of the powers that be, it must be acknowledged, a little more accurately speaking, that the flawless organization of election irregularities brought about success. The Democratic Justice Party has not the least ground to gain support. The future struggle of the New Democratic Party will be a nonviolent struggle based on the expectation of the people against the power that is frail but still has a terrorist force fully at its disposal.

LOOKING BACK ON THE PAST POLITICAL EVENTS

May 17, 1985

SOLIDARITY WITH THE STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE

The Chon Du Hwan clique who gained only 35.3 per cent of the vote despite all manner of crooked practices and violence they used in the February general elections, are now totally on the defensive. They are desperate since they can survive only when the Constitution is not amended and the military men continue to hold power two years later at any cost. The replacement of government implicates their total collapse, and so they do not want to yield in this matter. The result will be endless sacrifices on the part of the people.

From their defeat in the general elections, the military learned that it was difficult to keep hold of power by dint of violence alone. Therefore, they are at pains to build up their own political force by placing Ro Tae U, a little more presentable than other uniformed men, at the top of the Democratic Justice Party. They want to replace Chon Du Hwan with Ro Tae U two years later. For this it is necessary to rig up a bogus organization like the electoral college as in the case of Chon Du Hwan and conduct indirect, rather than direct, presidential elections. This is why they are opposed to the amendment of the Constitution.

This will give rise to a fierce fight between the democratic forces and the Chon Du Hwan clique over the question of constitutional amendment. The Chon Du Hwan clique believe that the military is united in putting Ro Tae U to the fore. The democratic forces consider that for some time the Chon Du Hwan clique will be unable to employ violence as they did five years ago, out of consideration for public opinion at home and international reputation. They strive to get the democratization forces further organized and expand them during the respite. To this end, they intend to wage a joint struggle with the workers and strengthen solidarity with the citizens'

struggle for existence.

The Chon Du Hwan government has no influence at all on the campuses. It is impossible to shut up the students within the campuses. The students are deeply involved in the labour movement. They have set it their strategy to make a vigorous attack against the outside forces of America and Japan, as well as the Chon Du Hwan clique. Because they know that the Chon Du Hwan government cannot hold out even a day without the backing of the outside forces. At the same time, they seek to keep pace with the masses' struggle for existence, but strictly within the limits of nonviolent struggle. In other words, they will fight with stone missiles at the very most. They study the American and Japanese policies very profoundly, and strain to equip themselves ideologically and theoretically.

Recently the Chon Du Hwan clique confiscated seditious literature and arrested their publishers. According to the official report, 306 kinds of "books and mimeographed material" have been seized. Even such books as the "Development of the Thoughts on Women's Emancipation," "Divine Revolution," "History of the Japanese Imperialist Spirit," and "History of 40 Years under Japanese Imperialism" are on the list. Newspapers are asking questions editorially as to the reason why the government which lifted the ban on suppressed publications in February 1982 has taken such a step. What is the criterion here? They say that "obscene and indecent publications detrimental to our beautiful customs and social ethics" are banned. However, only one kind of book fell under that category and the rest were "ideological books." The suppression of books will whet the curiosity of the youth and students and more clandestine publications will appear. How is it that the government has taken such a step all of a sudden only to discredit itself and arouse discontent? Rumours and gossips are rife about this.

"This is to show that after his return from America Chon Du Hwan is going to take a more tough line. In other words, it is aimed at giving a shock to the public. In that case, America will also be a loser. There is no doubt that such a step stemmed from the fear that those books might awaken the students. This implies that the government finds itself driven into a tight corner by the students. Further, even if the books are suppressed, there is no assuring that the students will not read them. It appears that the Chon Du Hwan clique wanted, above all, to confiscate literature dealing with the labour problem. Or rather, they must have taken action because mimeographed prints

concerning the Kwangju incident were openly in circulation. It is said that a certain publishing house was just about to distribute 20,000 copies of a book concerning the Kwangju incident when they were seized."

Because the student movement exerted a decisive influence on the general elections, the students are suppressed more harshly. But it is a terrible thing in any case that they have come to realize their own strength. The students are continually expelled from the campuses and imprisoned. However, this will only multiply the radical resistance forces. These students and the young people ousted from the campuses take part in all kinds of movements.

When America pressed for free import of farm and livestock products, it was the youth and students who fought against it along with some awakened farmers and Christians. According to the April issue of the "Kwanak Review" published by the Press Council of Seoul University, farm and aquatic products held 69 per cent of the consumption goods worthy of 2,890 million dollars imported in 1984, or were 1,940 million dollars' worth. The rate of self-supply of food by the people is 50.5 per cent. When a farmers' congress was to take place on the occasion of the "91st anniversary of the death of Chon Bong Jun" who led the Tonghak peasant revolution, it was suppressed by the riot police. And 26 persons who attempted to demonstrate in front of the American embassy were arrested, of whom 23 were farmers, one—a citizen, and two—students.

The Korean Catholic Peasant Association and the General Federation of the Korean Christian Peasant Associations sent an open letter to President Reagan, and continue to fight. A few slogans from their appeal will give a glimpse of the real state of affairs in the south Korean countryside. They read: "Half of our people's food is foreign-made," "Even soy, ox tail, powdered red pepper and bean paste are imported," "Prices of cattle slump and the peasant economy groans under the heavy burden of debts," "Why does America fan the flames of a burning house?" "Why does America force open-door import on us again?" "Why does the present government import farm and animal products from abroad?" "The nation's economy is tottering under the burden of foreign debts," "National security is in jeopardy due to inorganic foodstuffs," and so on.

Noteworthy in this struggle is the fact that the people are gradually raising their voices against nuclear weapons and the

building of an atomic power station. On April 8 the Young Men's Christian Association in south Korea issued a "Young Christians' Peace Declaration" on the occasion of Easter. On April 16 the "joint Easter service of the youth" was held on the theme "May peace come to this land." Here is a passage of the peace declaration:

"Peace is the supreme task of our people who aspire after reunification. Now is the time for the Church to cry out for peace which defends the lives of the masses, rejecting the false theory on security which is aimed at embellishing the rule of outside forces."

They put forward three-point claims in connection with the peace movement:

"We protest against the trend of militarization of the whole of society by the military government", "We oppose the deployment of nuclear weapons and the building of an atomic power station in the south of the Korean peninsula which menace the life of our nation," and "On the occasion of the bicentenary of the beginning of missionary work in Korea, we appeal to the Christians of south Korea to conduct a large-scale peace movement to achieve national reunification and democratization."

In reference to the anti-nuclear question, it writes:

"On the pretext of saving the American economy which grew structurally dull in the wake of the oil crisis in the 1970's, the Reagan government has accelerated the militarization of American industries and sped up the deployment of nuclear weapons in the Korean peninsula by taking advantage of the weak points of the south Korean military regime. American transnational companies like the Westinghouse and the Bechtel corporation are using the military regime of south Korea and the comprador atomic energy technicians who received education in nuclear technology in the United States, to carry on the construction of the atomic power station which is now a pronoun of anti-civilization."

They did so much as declare that "the United States has a big-power-centred view that it can use weak and small nations as nuclear test grounds if that is necessary for its anti-Soviet strategy, and is given to the barbarism of ignoring the lives of the weak and small nations".

Because of this peace declaration, the chairman, manager and other leading officials of the YMCA were arrested. The present situation when young Christians are criticizing America like this makes us feel we are in a quite different age in comparison with a few

years ago. Why do the Japanese authorities push ahead with the question of fingerprinting when the voices censuring the US and Japan for their support of the Chon Du Hwan clique are raised so boisterously? Do they think they can do anything they please simply because they ushered in a "new epoch of south Korea-Japan relations" together with Chon Du Hwan? Or else because the Japanese press shuts its eyes to the realities of south Korea?

Speaking of the movement for solidarity with the needy people's struggle for existence, the anti-pollution campaign must be mentioned. This campaign is led by the group of young people represented by the Korean Environmental Pollution Research Institute. The inhabitants of the areas adjacent to the Onsan industrial settlement in Ulju County, South Kyongsang Province, are in a grave situation. The research institute protested to the Environment Agency against its assertion that no one was suffering from pollution diseases, and made public a document with a heading, "Are you going to leave alone the over 1,000 Onsan inhabitants who are suffering from diseases caused by pollution?" It gives a detailed account of the real state of affairs in the Onsan area. It says in part:

"At present there are as many as 1,000 cases of malignant diseases like general neuralgia and general paralysis, to the exclusion of ordinary pollution diseases such as skin, eye and respiratory diseases. Their number is steadily increasing. Serious cases who cannot move due to pains alone exceed 50 and two of them died early in 1985. These malignant diseases are widespread among both the aged and the teenagers. Even children of six or eight complain of pains in the legs and waist."

The pollution research institute continues the struggle, even publishing material in English. But investigation into this shocking reality is forbidden. Is there no way to abolish such an immoral order? The youth and students who had called the environmental pollution of Onsan in question and appealed for its solution, were apprehended on the "charge of having circulated groundless rumours." Making an appeal for sufferers from pollution diseases is condemned as an act of spreading groundless rumours. It is really a hard battle, we must say.

CLEARING UP THE TRUTH OF THE KWANGJU INCIDENT

An American missionary was near being expelled from south Korea for his article in "The New York Times" which said, "Lend an Open Ear to the Voices of Antigovernment Personalities." He wrote that democracy was needed for security. An understanding was barely reached with the authorities after he made an apology promising to be careful in future. The authorities are so nervous about distribution of handbills that even a conservative missionary who was handing out in the streets handbills calling on people to embrace Christianity was walked off to the police and denied the extension of his visa. Probably because of such oversensitiveness, the police fires tear shells at random to check the demonstrations which go on every day of late.

Walking-off, arrest and imprisonment become more frequent as the days go by. Although they fear that if the political offenders swell in prison, all prisons might turn into arenas of political movement, they seem to find no other way out. Voices demanding the release of political prisoners become louder again. Also stepped up is the movement for rescuing the six persons involved in the case of setting fire to the American Cultural Centre in Pusan in March 1982. The Human Rights Committee of the Youth League for the Democratization Movement and the Korean Council for the Release of Conscientious Offenders made public "the report on the case of incendiarism on the American Cultural Centre in Pusan". It is natural that the youth and students should be indignant against America's support to the Chon Du Hwan clique who massacred people cruelly in Kwangju, it wrote. The statement issued on the eve of the April 19 revolution anniversary by the democratization movement organizations under the heading "Let Us Relieve the Patriots and Democrats Who Are Groaning in Prison and Win Back Our Deprived Rights" is sharper toned. Here is an opening passage from the statement:

"Latterly the expression 'the spring of Seoul' is all the vogue in newspapers and news pictures. But only the reek of murder is in the air wherever you turn to in this country, and harmony and peace is nowhere to be felt. The word 'spring of Seoul' is no more than a trick invented by the comprador dictatorial group who, scared by the

powerful resistance of the nation, are trying hard to camouflage their scheme for staying in power for good and to disrupt the masses while evading their vehement political attack. They enlist all government-patronized press organs in advertising their intentions loudly by employing flowery words such as dialogue and spring."

Recently the entreating movement for delivering Koreans from Japan who are in jail as political prisoners began to be known to those engaged in the democratization movement and to the human rights committee of the church. The fiancee of Li Chol who has already served 10 years of his 20 year prison term sentenced under the "National Security Law," appealed for the relief of 34 political prisoners who are Koreans from Japan. This is an appeal to the movements which are taking place of late in south Korea for the release of political prisoners. It is of great significance. There has been scarcely any movement for delivering them within south Korea by now. Therefore, they have felt more lonely in prison. It is sincerely desired that the influential Korean residents in Japan conduct more vigorously the movement for solidarity with the struggles in the homeland.

The political situation underwent great upheavals between the April 19 revolution anniversary and the day of meeting in memory of the Kwangju incident in May. Over 100,000 students engaged with the riot police throughout south Korea. The New Democratic Party had been negotiating with the ruling party on the recovery of rights for Kim Dae Jung and many others and the release of the political prisoners, and on May 13 an agreement was reached with difficulty on convening the National Assembly. The ruling and opposition parties are said to have agreed that the problems under discussion would be settled after the opening of the National Assembly. Rumour has it that Chon Du Hwan has already consented to the said two points. Because otherwise, the New Democratic Party shows signs to strongly press for Chon Du Hwan's step-down.

The New Democratic Party has many open questions to attend to, such as of election cheating, inquiry into the truth of the Kwangju incident and constitutional amendment to realize direct presidential election. In anticipation of the 5th anniversary of the Kwangju incident, the students are concentrating all their actions on its commemoration. As soon as the debate begins at the National Assembly, they will work out their strategy to cope with it. Their actions in memory of the Kwangju incident will be generally

concluded in May, and then, it is believed, they will effect a strategical change of front.

At present the struggle in connection with the Kwangju incident is escalated. The students call the Chon Du Hwan clique to task with closely-knit argument. They demand: Clear up the truth of the Kwangju incident! What is the cause of the massacre of the citizens? How many citizens were killed? Is not Chon Du Hwan responsible for it? Why did the US army commander in south Korea permit the army troops to take action and praise their behaviour? If innocent, why do the Chon Du Hwan clique try to suppress the demands for clearing up the truth of this incident? What do they fear?

In Kwangju a thick pamphlet "Kwangju" under the slogan "For the free regional movement of South Cholla Province!" has been published by the South Cholla Provincial Council of the Democratic Youth Movement. It gives the "personal records of the May 18 victims" on the basis of the investigation of the material concerning the people who were killed five years ago. It also carries the notes by those who got wounded at the time of the holocaust, thus disclosing the truth of the Kwangju incident and accusing those who are responsible for it.

The General Federation of Christian Students Associations in south Korea issued a book captioned "O Kwangju, the Cross of the Nation." It contains many pictures of scenes of the Kwangju carnage which are not yet published at home and various materials such as "The diary of the Kwangju popular resistance," "The statements issued at the time of the Kwangju popular resistance," "Material about trials," and "Data released by the government and other material." A cursory glance into the book is enough to know the truth of the Kwangju incident. Even now, five years after the tragedy, the passionate shouts of the citizens are ringing in our ears.

The American military, to say nothing of the Chon Du Hwan clique and the south Korean military, should be put in the dock.

It is said that the American military commended and specially promoted its personnel concerned with south Korea for taking the situation in hand by such repressive means after Pak Jung Hi was killed. It seems to be a custom with the military men to logroll and pin orders or stars on one another's chest or shoulders like this. In this respect the US army differs little from the south Korean army.

With the fifth anniversary of the Kwangju incident near at hand, leaders of the students and democratization movements are placed

under house arrest or thrown into custody. They number by hundreds. In Onyang of South Chungchong Province, clergymen were arrested for attempting to print documents regarding the Kwangju incident and were sentenced to 20 days' imprisonment on the charge of "spreading groundless rumours and making seditious mimeographed prints."

On the fifth anniversary of the Kwangju incident, the Church planned resistance actions and is carrying them into effect combating the police. Such instances are countless. It is planned to read off a joint sermon on May 19, Sunday, setting it as the "Day of Peace". The memorial services held last evening at the Christian building under the sponsorship of the Korean Christian Church Council proceeded in a very fervent atmosphere. A student hanging in midair from the 7th floor of a building on a rope bound around his waist made a 20-minute speech demanding the clearing up of the truth of the Kwangju incident, with a cross-shaped torch in one hand and a microphone in the other. After that, he was arrested. Hunger strikes go on in Seoul and Kwangju.

At present, on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the Kwangju incident, angry voices of protest are shaking the whole of south Korea. I cannot report about everything here. The students' extensive struggle goes on fiercely. Nobody knows what will be the result. One day their wrath will surely oust the Chon Du Hwan clique.

In Kwangju "The Promotion Committee for the Commemorations of the May 18 Kwangju Uprising and the Construction of the Memorial Tower" is now being formed. Let me quote one or two passages from the originators' note issued by its preparatory committee:

"Labelling the participants in the May 18 Kwangju uprising, which was unparalleled in world history and will shine forth in our national history, as 'rioters' of an unhappy incident or event of the past and attempting to stamp out its true historical meaning—this is the grim political reality of today. The will of the victims who laid down their lives must be carried forward as the mission of us survivors... We solemnly call upon all our democratic-minded compatriots at home and abroad, all democrats and the democratic and mass movement organizations fighting for the democratization of the country to promote this great cause with joint efforts by uniting all hearts aspiring after the democratization and peaceful reunification of the country."

Kwangju is coming back to life. A revenge on the history in which the Koreans were called "lemmings" and stabbed to death, has started. 40 years since liberation! To look back on the past political course, it was really a grim and trying path. However, it must be said that this nation is surely a proud, indomitable nation. Even at this moment, its people are waging a bloody struggle for democracy, reunification, human rights, justice and peace, and this in spite of such a cruel suppression practised by the great power in league with the cursed military.

O CROSS OF THE NATION!

June 17, 1985

IN AND OUTSIDE THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

When we say that the home front of struggle has extended, we do not mean simply that the students' struggle is exercising an influence on the workers. The majority of the people believe that the Chon Du Hwan clique will not hold out until the 1988 Olympic Games. Should they act recklessly, they will face a crisis next spring. The economic crisis is also aggravating. A troublesome situation in connection with the Olympic Games may subsequently lead to a wholesale debacle. Even if they go after profits until the Olympics, they will find themselves powerless to do anything but sitting with folded arms, only grabbing the money they have got. This is the talk of the entrepreneurs. The exports continue to fall off. Even the newspapers report under the scareheadline "No hope to hit this year's export targets."

Meanwhile the people's material and moral support to the struggle for democratization is increasing. This is not all. The struggle of the New Democratic Party within the National Assembly is also vigorous. The Chon Du Hwan clique's watchword about cooperation between the ruling and opposition parties has now disappeared entirely. The New Democratic Party members in the National Assemblymen are divided into hard-liners and moderates, but they supplement each other strategically and tactically rather than standing in confrontation. The same can be said of the democratization struggle among the opposition forces. There is the tough action group including the students, who sometimes throw fire bottles at police boxes. On the other hand, Kim Dae Jung and Kim Yong Sam are realistic politicians belonging to the moderate group. But there is no ideological or sectarian antagonism between them. It will be correct that they support each other in the struggle. This has matured in the process of 15 years of democratization movement.

The authorities once promised to refrain as far as possible from

walking off or imprisoning fathers, pastors and believers, for fear of piquing them. But now they seem to be so disturbed and restless. In Chonan to the south of Seoul, pastors were arrested on the scene of distributing pamphlets revealing the truth of the Kwangju incident and put to summary trial, so that even the Sunday services were called off.

On the evening of May 19, Sunday, "joint services marking the 5th anniversary of the Kwangju popular resistance struggle" were held at the Nammun Church in Chonju, North Cholla Province. Here it became a serious question that the cruel acts of butchery committed by the military during the Kwangju incident were only possible with the backing of the United States. When the pastor and believers turned out in a demonstration and advanced some 50 metres, shouting slogans "Finish off the persons responsible for the Kwangju massacre!" the armed police surrounded the 150 persons and, yelling, "Kill them all," fell upon them, firing tear shells and wielding clubs and trampling them under foot. With the shouts "Kill these fellows," the outrages continued. The pastor fell unconscious and was brought to the Christian Hospital on the back of believers. The citizens who gathered there were also beaten by police and wounded. Those who were walked off to the police were hit black and blue. This happened after 10 o'clock at night.

Shocked by this, all churches in North Cholla Province rose up. So, the provincial police bureau chief appeared at an extraordinary meeting of elders and made an apology for the incident and promised that he would strictly punish the policemen concerned. But since it was a carefully planned action of violence, it is a common knowledge that such a promise will have no effect at all. In Seoul alone 20,000 riot police were mobilized every day during the "period of commemoration of the Kwangju popular resistance of May." Nevertheless, the struggle did not stop.

Within the National Assembly the New Democratic Party, responding to and encouraged by these struggles outside, fought well for the democratic amendment of the Constitution, the punishment of those concerned in the fraudulent elections and the clearing up of the truth of the Kwangju incident. The recent so-called opening session of the National Assembly was a one-month long extraordinary session ending June 11. The most important item on the agenda was the problem of clearing up the truth of the Kwangju incident. Of course the debate proceeded in such a way that when

National Assemblymen of the New Democratic Party demanded the correct number of victims in Kwangju which was reported to be 2,000, the ruling party repeated the same answer that the victims were 191 and that the rumour of 2,000 victims was groundless. Now when the opposition party claimed the "exercise of the right to inquire into the state policy" stressing the need of investigation by the National Assemblymen from the ruling and opposition parties, the ruling party quibbled that the government had already made public its truth, and so there was no need to reopen old sores. The ruling party acts that way because if they yield the point on this score, the Chon Du Hwan clique will meet with a total collapse under the weight of responsibility for the Kwangju incident. The Kwangju incident is the Achilles' heel to the Chon Du Hwan clique. They lacked prudence, swayed by their soldier-like view that he who seizes power even by committing atrocities will be the victor. Calling out paratroops and exciting the Kwangju citizens to offer resistance, they plotted to use it as an excuse for their seizure of power.

The recent debate in the National Assembly brought the truth of the Kwangju incident into the light of day for all the country to see, thereby revealing the out-and-out anti-national character of the Chon Du Hwan clique. This can be noted as a great victory. Further, the common slogan of the struggles outside the National Assembly was to call America to account for the incident. So long as the United States stands behind Chon Du Hwan, it has to face this problem in the future, too.

During the debates in the National Assembly the Chon Du Hwan clique's soft spot was revealed and they were driven into a tight corner. The soft spot was the number of the victims. The New Democratic Party members took the offensive with interpellations:

"According to the dynamic statistics of population officially released by the Kwangju municipality, the mortality in Kwangju averaged from 150 to 250 a month in 1980, but the number showed a stupendous increase to 2,627, in June or the next month of the Kwangju incident. How do you think about this?"

"In 1980 the mortality of Kwangju was 3,401 greater than in 1979. This is an increase of 2,569 as compared with the average number for the four years following 1976. In the ten years from 1973 to 1983 the population of Kwangju showed an annual increase of 4.3 per cent on an average. But in the year of 1980 its population dropped by 0.8 per cent. Clear up the truth about this."

Thus, the opinion that the victims of the Kwangju incident surpass 2,000 was virtually confirmed. In this situation, the Minister of the Interior replied to the interpellations the next day. He said:

"The notices of deaths submitted in Kwangju in June 1980 were 203. But in the course of making the year's statistical report, the figure 2,627 which was due to be put in the column of population growth adjoining the column of deaths was wrongly entered in the deaths column. As a result, 2,424 more than the actual figure was recorded in the deaths column."

This made headlines in the newspapers of June 10 under the title "The Prosecution Summons and Investigates Four Officials Concerned in the Registration of the Kwangju Population in 1980." However, the basic material at the time of compiling the statistical report had been discarded due to the expiry of the three year limits of their keeping, and the officials concerned refused to "take penal responsibility, for they have no legal right to write out documents arbitrarily."

In such a situation, the Chon Du Hwan clique instructed the Defence Minister to appear at the Defence Committee of the National Assembly and give a "full account of the Kwangju incident." The Defence Committee meeting of that day was televised against all precedents of being held behind closed doors. The motive of the Chon Du Hwan clique was to use the National Assembly to impress their version of "191 deaths in Kwangju" on the minds of the people. When belatedly the New Democratic Party members found out this ruse, they were exasperated. But it can also be said that the majority of the people came to realize when they heard of the debate in the National Assembly, that the Chon Du Hwan clique and the army men, their underlings, were the rioters or murderers at the time of the Kwangju incident.

Refuting the statements of the Home and Defence Ministers, the "Committee of Promotion of the All-Nation Movement for the Construction of a Monument to the Memory of the Victims of the May 18 Popular Revolution in Kwangju and Its Commemorations" instantly issued a statement declaring that the "June 7 announcement of the Defence Ministry is not the truth but a lie." This was a confutation based on the testimonies of the participants in the incident.

The paratroopers who rushed into the city on the morning of the 18th after proclaiming a martial law arbitrarily captured the students

who came to the library and "committed such heinous outrages as stripping them of their clothes and beating them with rifle butt." This was the beginning of the incident. This triggered off the resistance of the students. Giving a detailed account of these facts, the statement refuted point-blank the assertion about "191 death toll". Let me quote a few lines from it:

"If the Kwangju citizens who died in June 1980 were 203, the figure even falls short of the monthly average of deaths. How will the 164 civilians who died during the incident be classified among the 203 dead? If the death toll of the incident was 164, do they mean to say that the normal deaths of that month were only 39?"

Referring to the announcement of the military during the incident that many soldiers were killed and their bodies were airlifted, the statement pressed for the explanation of the causes of the death of over 300 army men. This implies that the army men who refused to be a party to the massacre were shot to death. The Kwangju citizens asked the Defence Minister to make an open speech over the TV. They mean that if he declines to do so, they will contend that his announcement is a lie.

Another highlight in the recent National Assembly session was the speech of the National Assemblyman Li Chol from the New Democratic Party who had been condemned to death at the time of the so-called case of the League of Democratic Youth and Students in 1974. He returned to the National Assembly by the greatest number of votes in the recent February 12 general elections. He has raised the "level of speeches" by challenging the so-called "sanctuary" in the National Assembly which remained inviolable for a long time now. It is regrettable that the full text of his speech has not been published. His "dangerous speech" was struck out even from the minutes of the National Assembly session. The fragments of his speech which appeared in the press enable us to picture in our minds the atmosphere at the time.

He even omitted such words conventional to the speakers in the National Assembly as "Esteemed chairman, senior and fellow members." Newspapers only quoted fragmentary words from his speech such as "The masses are the master of history," "removal of all crimes and evils that are anti-popular, anti-democratic and anti-national," "the terror of imprisonment and murder," "the modern history of the system of prolonged dictatorship," "dictatorship under the cloak of democracy," "the masses exploited under the name of

welfare" and "the colossal wealth possessed by the bereaved children and relatives of the late Pak Jung Hi." So there is no knowing the full tenor of his speech. Incensed at his speech, assemblymen from the ruling party accused him, questioning if he was an agent of the communists. Under a rain of jeering and abuses, he talked back, "You who have a guilty conscience may well keep roaring." He went on to speak, encouraged by the New Democratic Party members who cheered him up, "That's right. Go ahead!" The ruling Democratic Justice Party members hoarsely cried for a "disciplinary measure" against him, but fell back before long. Because they feared the voices of the people.

The power of the Chon Du Hwan clique rests on an impossible system. Under this system they can neither keep silence nor discontinue their struggle because they know the history of their forerunners who fell fighting the wicked government. Conscience cannot yield to violence. They have to negotiate a thorny path under such circumstances in quest of freedom. Who knows how long Li Chol has to trudge along this path?

ON ANTI-AMERICANISM

The May resistance struggle was based on an excellent strategy and tactics. The Christians and the democratic movement organizations fell in with the demand of the students. The statement issued by the Federation of the Popular Movement for Democracy and Unification on May 17 under the headline, "Culprit of the Kwangju Massacre, Resign!" contained the following five-point demand:

1. The military junta, the band of criminals who perpetrated the Kwangju carnage, must step down!

2. Let us punish the principal culprits of the Kwangju massacre and their hatchetmen in the name of the people!

3. The United States must apologize for the help it gave in the Kwangju massacre and refrain from backing the military junta any longer!

4. The entire people must rise unanimously to get the truth of the Kwangju massacre cleared up and expose the crimes of the military junta!

5. Let us unfold a movement for helping and relieving the bereaved families of the victims of the Kwangju resistance struggle

and for securing due compensation to them!

The United States must have felt misgivings about the underlying anti-US accusation contained in the demand. So it arranged a press interview of the US Ambassador to Seoul at the time of the Kwangju incident with a Japanese newspaper. This immediately aroused suspicion among the intellectuals in Seoul. Here is the full text of the statement made by the Federation of the Popular Movement for Democracy and Unification on May 18 under the heading "The United States Can Never Evade Its Responsibility for the Kwangju Carnage—in Connection with the Former US Ambassador to South Korea Gleysteen's Press Interview":

"Two days before the 18th, the anniversary of the Kwangju popular resistance struggle in May, the former US Ambassador to south Korea William Gleysteen in an interview with the 'Asahi Shimbun' of Japan quibbled that at the time of the Kwangju incident the United States 'gave its assent to the dispatch of the south Korean ground forces to Kwangju to put down the riot, but the south Korean side suppressed it by force of arms with no heed to the US government's repeated warnings and advice to exercise self-restraint.'

"Mentioning that at the time of the incident the rumour spread in south Korea that the US government had given instructions to take repressive measures through the mobilization of troops, and such a view was still afloat, he stressed that 'it is totally out of accord with the actual facts. South Korea is an independent state and there is a limit to the US influence.' Meanwhile, concerning the democratization movement in the spring of 1980, Gleysteen remarked that 'the students' struggle started with the demands for the freedom of formation of students' organizations and of demonstrations. Their demands were realized under the pressure and assistance of the United States. But after winning them, the students became impudent and began to think as if they could run the state and the economy.' So he' called on Kim Dae Jung, Kim Yong Sam and Kim Jong Pil in April 1980 and warned them that unless the students' movement was brought under control, it was feared that the army might intervene,' but 'the three persons were unwilling to act positively, probably because they were afraid that they might be regarded as reactionaries.' Especially Gleysteen said that 'at the bottom of the Kwangju incident there was the undercurrent of regional antagonism which was handed down through ages in south Korea.'

"We cannot but surprise at these remarks of the former ambassador who coped with the incident as the representative of the US government during the Kwangju popular resistance. In the past five years since the massacre of more than 2,000 innocent people in Kwangju by airborne commandos and a regular army division of south Korea, not a word was uttered by high-ranking officials of the US Administration about America's responsibility for it. It is by no means a chance coincidence that the former US ambassador to south Korea tried to disavow the responsibility devolving on the United States just at the time when on the occasion of the 5th anniversary of the Kwangju popular resistance struggle, the voices demanding the punishment of those answerable for the holocaust are rising high all over south Korea and the demands for the resignation of the military junta which is made up of the principal culprits of the massacre, are ringing out from all quarters. It only awakens our suspicion still more that his remarks have been conveyed through Japanese newspapers. It is still fresh in our memory that when the airborne troops and the 20th Division were slaughtering people in Kwangju, it was announced that 'the US Administration has approved the dispatch of four battalions of south Korean army to Kwangju.'

"That Gleysteen who received orders from the home government and worked out the action programme at the time insists that although the United States only approved the move of the troops, it told them to stop slaughtering people. If the US army which has the prerogative of operations over the south Korean army had really had an objection to the massacre, they should have withdrawn the south Korean troops, a horde of homicides, before they stormed into the South Cholla provincial government building on May 20.

"Furthermore, it is only too well known that Wickham, Commander of the United States Armed Forces in south Korea in May 1980 when Gleysteen was the ambassador, assumed an indifferent attitude to the massacre by leaving for home on the plea of 'work consultation' just before the start of the genocide. This is not all. At a press interview on August 7, 1980, Wickham said that 'the United States would back up Chon Du Hwan even if the situation continued in which the policy of political suppression and the government have no support of the people,' and that 'the national character of the south Korean people is like that of lemmings, so they are bound to follow the leader no matter who may become the leader.' Didn't he say so? If America was opposed to the massacre,

why did Wickham publicly voice its support to the government headed by the chief culprit of the massacre?

"Although Gleysteen said that there was a limit to the US influence on south Korea, the US ambassador and commander in south Korea who received orders from the US Administration undoubtedly had enough power of influence to stop the Kwangju massacre. Therefore, we conclude that America should share the responsibility for the Kwangju massacre with the military junta.

"What makes us more indignant is the remark of Gleysteen that the Kwangju popular resistance struggle originated in 'the regional antagonism handed down through ages in south Korea.'

"It was the Pak Jung Hi dictatorship that had sought a long-term office while fanning the parochial feelings in south Korea. At the time of the May resistance struggle, the military dictatorial group gave a villainous special training to the commandomen from the Ryongnam area (North and South Kyongsang Provinces) who were ignorant of history and reality and incited them to slaughter the people of the Honam area (North and South Cholla Provinces) in cold blood. The people of Kwangju had risen against the band of military dictators who trampled on their hope for democracy. They did not lay down their lives for their local interests. Gleysteen's remarks are a blasphemy against the souls of the departed heroes of the Kwangju resistance struggle. By saddling the military junta alone with the responsibility for the Kwangju massacre and ascribing the tragedy to the indifferent attitude of Kim Dae Jung, Kim Yong Sam and Kim Jong Pil towards the students' demonstrations, to the students' 'intemperate demonstrations' and to the Kwangju citizens' parochial sentiments, he shuffled off all responsibility on the south Korean people.

"It is obvious that the Kwangju tragedy was caused by the fact that the United States which had frozen the split of Korea into north and south, willingly assented to the dispatch of troops to Kwangju with a view to blocking the establishment of a popular government in south Korea so as to protect and multiply its own interests.

"On this day of anniversary of the Kwangju popular resistance, we would like to question the American Administration:

"Do you recognize the contents of the ex-ambassador Gleysteen's press interview? As soon as you, the Reagan Administration, assumed office, you summoned the chief executioner of the Kwangju massacre to the United States and confirmed

'friendship' while entertaining him warmly. At the close of last April they emphasized the 'south Korea-US friendship' once more. Does this mean that it is of the same opinion as Gleysteen that it is going to patronize and back up as ever the band of the principal instigators of the massacre?

"On behalf of the sacred souls of the departed heroes of May, we solemnly urge the US Administration:

"The United States must not support the military junta continually, so that it stands in the way of the south Korean people who are struggling for democratization and reunification.

"If the United States actually back up the military dictatorship in reality while refusing to share the responsibility for the Kwangju genocide, the south Korean people will rightfully castigate America and condemn its unjust act."

This is how things actually stand with anti-Americanism in south Korea. Such a protest against the United States is moderated by the friendly sentiments towards America which are still kept in the hearts of the south Korean people. It is a common knowledge that America rules south Korea indirectly through the medium of its occupation army and through the latter's manipulation of the south Korean army. In spite of this, the Americans say nonchalantly, "We cannot interfere in others' internal affairs," "South Korea is an independent state" and "There is a limit to the power of influence." Hearing this, the south Korean intellectuals boil with rage. Before annexing Korea in 1910, Japan had repeated in just the same tone that Japan would safeguard Korea's independence and defend peace in Asia. Should we say that history repeats?

This protest of the Federation of the Popular Movement for Democracy and Unification was a manifestation modified as much as possible. They are convinced in the depths of their hearts that the situation in south Korea since Pak Jung Hi's death in October 1979 has been under the complete control and an outcome of the operations of the US military and CIA. Is it not true that America has been unsuccessful in such operations all over the world? Is it not their routine work to change the Presidents of other countries? It is the United States that placed Chon Du Hwan at the head, stage-managed the Kwangju atrocities and crushed the democratic forces. The Chon Du Hwan clique is no more than a marionette manipulated by the United States. A friend of mine condemned:

"I was also disappointed at Gleysteen's remarks. Because after

he was relieved of his post as ambassador, he once spoke as if he supported democratization in south Korea. But when it comes to the national interests of America, he changes his stands. Now I am inclined to despise everyone that is American."

SEIZURE OF THE AMERICAN CULTURAL CENTRE

"Bearing the responsibility for the Kwangju massacre, the United States must apologize politely to the south Korean people. We hold that the south Korea-US relations are not the 'blood brotherhood' as has so far been described by those in power. Our people must know that the south Korea-US relations have been a relationship of intolerable subordination for us which has obliged us always to remain content with the disadvantageous conditions.... On behalf of the entire people we strongly demand the Reagan Administration:

"Firstly, to take the responsibility for having agreed to the Kwangju genocide and politely apologize to the south Korean people;

"Secondly, to repeal all economic measures unfavourable to the south Korean people;

"Thirdly, to stop supporting the present military regime that is the principal culprit of the genocide.

"These demands of the south Korean people represent our most fundamental wish to develop the south Korea-US relations along the right path. In case at least the elementary moral principles are not observed in politics and unequal relations not amended, we are deeply worried that an unhappy situation might develop from them between south Korea and the United States."

This is a quotation from the "Appeal to the People" issued by the Struggle Committee for the Punishment of the Chief Culprit of the Kwangju Massacre of the National Federation of Students on May 22.

It could be said that this was a manifestation of the resolve of the boy and girl students the day before they rushed into the American Cultural Centre in the heart of Seoul with the cry of hurrah at 12:05 of the 23rd. We can say so because these students are affiliated with the National Federation of Students. Part of them charged into the American Cultural Centre and many others fought outside in support

of them. The National Federation of Students was formed on April 17 with students representing 23 universities, and the affiliated universities have now increased to 62. It has under it the Struggle Committee for the Nation, Masses and Democracy, which embraces 20 universities. The recent action was organized by the National Federation of Students and, in particular, by the Struggle Committee for the Nation, Masses and Democracy.

Already on May 14 they made public an open letter with the heading, "An Inquiry about the US Side's Part in the Kwangju Mass Slaughter, Sent by the National Federation of Students to Reagan Administration, USA." The south Korean people's anti-US feelings have been excited by the United States' south Korean policy and generated by "America's assistance in and assent to the Kwangju massacre." Why did America agree to the commitment of the "7th Airborne Commando Corps" to Kwangju to result in the mass butchery? Why did it connive at the December 12 military coup staged by the principal killers of the Kwangju genocide? What did Wickham, Commander of the US 8th Army in south Korea, mean when he spoke of "lemmings"? Why did President Reagan right after his coming into office invite Chon Du Hwan, the principal culprit of the Kwangju holocaust, before anyone else and express his support to him? It is commonly believed that "Through the Kwangju massacre, America's true colours were disclosed. The United States seeks to rule the Korean peninsula continually by using the anti-national military junta as an instrument." What is "the logic of the United States" to gainsay this belief? Does not the US Administration think it right to apologize publicly for the Kwangju blood bath and "make due compensation to the bereaved families of the slaughtered Kwangju citizens"? This was the context of their accusation.

"We strongly demand official answers to these six-point open questions through the evening issue of the 'Tonga Ilbo' of the 16th and through the extra newscasting at 9:00 p.m. the same day," it concluded.

Then, in broad daylight on the 23rd of May they rushed into the American Cultural Centre to stage a sit-in struggle.

"We believe that the United States was in a position to check the gruesome massacre. In the then prevailing situation when the prerogative of the south Korean army's operations was actually in the hands of the commander of the south Korea-US combined forces, a

post concurrently held by the commander of the US army in south Korea, the United States could veto the commitment of the 7th Airborne Commando Corps that perpetrated the Kwangju massacre and prevent the tragedy. Why then did the United States give consent to the dispatch of the 7th Airborne Commando Corps and the 20th Division? At present the south Korean people are very dubious about the support given by the United States in the Kwangju carnage and have come to realize that the United States should also share the responsibility for the Kwangju butchery. In order to dispel the deep misgivings of the south Korean people, the truth should be brought to light and the United States should publicly apologize for its backing the Kwangju genocide."

The south Korean people are not the "lemmings" as described by Wickham, the former Commander of the US Armed Forces in south Korea and now the US Army Chief of Staff. Rather, he had known well the south Korean people's spirit of resistance, and soothed the public opinion of the United States by saying that there was no need to worry although the situation was confused at the moment, with a view to backing up the Chon Du Hwan clique. He is probably thinking that all mankind except the Americans are "lemmings."

The above quotation is a passage from the statement headlined "What Compelled Us to Rush into the American Cultural Centre" which was issued by the students who seized the American Cultural Centre this time. Carrying on a hunger strike, they kept to the line of nonviolence and behaved themselves strictly according to reason. Moreover, it is surprising that although the plan for all this had been elaborated over a long time, its secret had not leaked out at all under the present military rule of intelligence and violence. This shows how matured strategically and tactically the students' struggle has grown.

At 12:05 of May 26 the students wound up the 72 hour-long sit-in in the American Cultural Centre and were walked off by the police. Ending their sit-in struggle, they made public the "Letter to All Democratic Forces!" "We Urge the New Democratic Party Once More!" "Letter to the One Million Students!" and "The Message to the US Government!"

They also noted that they ended the sit-in struggle in view of the north-south Red Cross Talks due to open on the 27th.

They acted risking their lives, they thought that unless they took actions like that history would never change its course. It can be said

that this incident deeply convinced at least the majority of the south Korean people how cruel the Reagan government's south Korean policy and the global strategy of the US Department of Defence.

On May 28 the authorities announced that 25 out of the 73 students were detained. They will scheme to label them as Reds. While the sit-in struggle was going on, the students' and democratic organizations outside waged a vigorous joint struggle. They lauded it by saying, "The sit-in action is a solemn, heroic deed of university intellectuals which has demonstrated all over the world to what extent the human wisdom has developed and what a great power of self-restraint human beings have. Hearing of the incident, the parents of the students were at first alarmed, worried and sorrow-stricken, but they have now come to realize that their sons and daughters were motivated by the "sense of patriotic devotion," which impelled them to do so. On June 5 they made public an appeal with pride. Here is a passage from it:

"We believe that our beloved sons and daughters have spoken our minds and advanced their claims in a most dignified manner. Therefore, we resolutely declare before all democratic personalities and students, and before the government authorities, that we will be one with them in thinking and act in concert with them until our conviction and hope are materialized."

They expressed their determination to wage a joint struggle together with their sons and daughters. This means they are willing to bear the cross of the nation with them. The people behind bars have so far enlightened their wives, cheered up their mothers and aroused their fathers. But how sad this is! Is it that the United States has lost the mental faculties of reflecting on its mistakes? Is it that the US Congress is unable to inquire into and clear up the deals conducted between south Korea and the United States in regard to the Kwangju incident, serve a warning to the United States itself and promote new south Korea-US relations?

The seizure of the American Cultural Centre will remain for long in the people's memory. Those who are now in power like Chon Du Hwan and Ro Tae U will be dead set against revealing the truth of the Kwangju incident because they are the prime organizers of the Kwangju genocide. They will also lose their lives for this incident which destroyed the lives of people. He who lives by the sword shall die by the sword.

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LETTERS FROM SOUTH KOREA

HISTORY OF DREADFUL TESTIMONIES (1)

Published in Chinese, French and Spanish
in 1976

HISTORY OF DREADFUL TESTIMONIES (2)

Published in English, Russian, Chinese,
French, Spanish and Arabic in 1976

DICTATOR'S DEATHBED SYMPTOMS

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in 1977

TORTURE RULE UNPRECEDENTED

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and French in 1978

LAND DEVOID OF LIGHT AND AIR

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and French in 1979

THE TIME OF REMNANTS' RULE

Published in English and French in 1981

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Published in Russian and Chinese in 1984

THE BLOODTHIRSTY MAN

Published in English, Russian, Chinese,
French and Spanish in 1985



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